The liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem (XII-XVI century) : with special reference to the practice of the orders of the Temple and St John of Jerusalem.

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THE LITURGY OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE OF JERUSALEM (XII-XVI CENTURY):
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE PRACTICE OF THE ORDERS OF THE TEMPLE AND ST JOHN OF JERUSALEM

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ABSTRACT

The liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem (XII-XVI century): with special reference to the practice of the orders of the Temple and St John of Jerusalem

The liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre is the practice adopted by the Latin Western Catholics once they settled in Jerusalem as a result of the first crusade, in 1099. It originated within the cathedral church of the Holy Sepulchre, the patriarchal see, and it was consequently adopted by most of the religious institutions within the patriarchate.

While being completely western, it cannot be traced back to the liturgical use practised in any single western diocese. However its individual components clearly do derive from diverse western sources, showing that the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre has a composite nature. With no extant records specifically related to the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre to clarify for us what was its actual form, why was it put together in such a way, when, and by whom, only through the manuscripts has it been possible to reconstruct events for centuries left unsolved.

The purpose of this research is first to define and analyse the characteristics of the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre. Secondly, and most importantly, it is to identify the liturgy's western sources through a method, which we may call comparative liturgy, which allows its comparison against the widest range of western liturgical uses; and thirdly, to understand the process through which the western sources were incorporated as constituent parts of the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre, providing new evidence for our understanding of the ecclesiastical organisation of Latin Jerusalem, as well as of some of the people most responsible for the liturgy's development.

The work includes a descriptive catalogue of the 18 liturgical manuscripts of the Holy Sepulchre, produced in Jerusalem, Acre, and Cyprus; a description of the 2 Templar manuscripts from European houses; finally an inventory of the 66 manuscripts and 9 early editions used by Hospitaller houses in Europe.

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DBI   *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* (Rome, 1960-).

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DHGE   *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique*, ed. A. Baudillart, A. de Meyer, and R. Aubert (Paris, 1912-).

DIP   *Dizionario degli Istituti di Perfezione*, 8 vols (Rome, 1988).

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Wienand
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WT
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A	Antiphona	O	Ordinarium
ab	abbas	O.s.d.	Omnipotens
abp	archbishop		sempiterne deus
All	Alleluia	Oct	Octava
ap/app	apostolus/i	OD	Officium
arch	archangelus		defunctorum
archep	archiepiscopus	Or	Oratio
B	Breviarium	Po	Pontificale
b	beatus/a	pont/pontt	pontifex/es
BMV	Beata Maria Virgo	Postcom	Postcommunio
bn	benedictio	pp	papa
bp	bishop	Pr	Processionale
cf/cff	confessor/es	presb	presbyter
C	Calendarium	proph	propheta
CB	Choral Book	Pros	Prosarium
Coll	Collectarium	Ps	Psalterium
Comm	Commemoratio	ps	psalmus
Com	Communio	QT	Quattuor Tempora
c.s.t.	cum sociis tuis	R	Responsorium
D	Duplex	S	Sacramentarium
DF	Duplex Festum	s/ss	sanctus/a, sancti/ae
DM MEM	Demum memoria	Secr.	Secreta
diac	diaconus	SD	Semiduplex
disc	discipulus	T	Troparium
doct	doctor	TD	Totum Duplex
E	Epistolarium	Transf	Transfertur
ep/epp	episcopus/i	Transl	Translatio
et al.	*et alii*	V	Versus, Versiculus
et soc.	*et sociorum*	v/vv	virgo/virgines
ev	evangelista	Vig	Vigilia
FD	Festum Duplex	[]	Editorial additions
fr	frater, fratres	()	Explanations, and
G	Graduale		later additions to the
H	Liber Horarum		calendar
I.C.	Ihesus Christus	||	Lacune
I.i.t.d.I.d.s.	In illo tempore dixit	\ /	Interlinear additions
	Ihesus discipulis suis		
Intr.	Introitus		
Invit.	Invitatorium		
M	Missale		
m/mm	martyr/es		
magr	magister		
MEM	Memoria		
mon	monachus		
Nat	Nativitas/Natalis		

LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS AND EARLY PRINTED BOOKS CITED IN ABBREVIATED FORM

a. Holy Sepulchre, Templar, and Hospitaller Manuscripts and Early Printed Books

Ang477	Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, ms. 477
Aosta	Aosta, Biblioteca del Seminario Maggiore, ms. 1
B1480	Hospitaller Breviary, Mainz: Printer of 'Prognosticatio', c.1480
B1495	Hospitaller Breviary, Speyer: Peter Drach, 1495
B1517	Hospitaller Breviary, Lyon: Cyriacus Hochperg ,1517
B1547	Hospitaller Breviary, Saragozza: George Coci, 4 Nov. 1547
B1551	Hospitaller Breviary, Lyon: Cornelius a Septemgrangiis, 1551
Barletta	Barletta, Archivio della Chiesa del Santo Sepolcro
BLCotton	London, British Library, Cotton Cleopatra B. III(3)
BL1139	London, British Library, Egerton 1139
BL1611	London, British Library, Sloane 1611
BL2902	London, British Library, Egerton 2902
BL3153	London, British Library, Egerton 3153
BL41061	London, British Library, Additional 41061
BL57528	London, British Library, Additional 57528
BN1079	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. lat. 1079
BN1400	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. lat. 1400
BN1689	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nouv. acq. lat. 1689
BN10478	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. lat. 10478
BN12056	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. lat. 12056
Cam6652	Cambridge, University Library, Add. 6652
Chant1076	Chantilly, Musée Condé, ms. 1076
Colm446	Colmar, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 446
DarmI/18	Darmstadt, Hessischen Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, Inc. I/18
Fitz49	Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, McClean 49
Fitz246	Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, ms. 246

de France [handwritten annotation]

Freib56	Freiburg im Breisgau, Universitatsbibliothek, Hs. 56
Frib91	Fribourg, Bibliothèque Cantonale et Universitaire, L 91
Haarl184C1	Haarlem, Stadsbibliotheek, 184 C 1
Haarl184C4	Haarlem, Stadsbibliotheek, 184 C 4
Haarl184C5	Haarlem, Stadsbibliotheek, 184 C 5
Haarl184C7	Haarlem, Stadsbibliotheek, 184 C 7
LondOSJ	London, Library of the Venerable Order of St John, ms. A 3
Lucca	Lucca, Biblioteca Arcivescovile, ms. 5
M1505	Hospitaller Missal, Strasbourg: Johannes Prüss, 1505
M1551	Hospitaller Missal, Lyon: Cornelius a Septemgrangiis, 1551
M1553	Hospitaller Missal, Lyon: Cornelius a Septemgrangiis, 1553
Mars109	Marseilles, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 109
Maz355	Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, ms. 355
MoO.II.13	Modena, Biblioteca Capitolare, O.II.13
Monreale	Monreale, Tesoro della Cattedrale
Mun10111	Munich, Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek, clm. 10111
Napoli	Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, VI G 11
OxfSJC131	Oxford, St John College, ms. 131
Parma	Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, mss. Palatini 185/6
Perugia	Perugia, Biblioteca Capitolare, ms. 6
Ricc323	Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, ms. 323
Siena	Siena, Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati, ms. G. V. 12
Torino	Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, cod. F.III.17
Vall455	La Valletta, National Library of Malta, ms. 455
Vat659	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 659
Wand	St Wandrille, Bibliothèque de l'Abbaye, ms. P. 12

b. Other Manuscripts and Early Printed Books used for Comparative Liturgical Analysis

Autun	*Missale Eduense*. Autun: Iohannis Hamelius, 1555: London, British Library, L. 18.a.2.(1.)

Avranches	London, British Library, Additional 29885 (B 14/15th c.)
Bayeux1	Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms. 279 (B 13th c.)
Bayeux2	Bayeux, Bibliothèque du Chapitre, ms. 72 (B 15th c.)
Bayeux3	Bayeux, Bibliothèque du Chapitre, ms. 75 (B 15th c.)
Bayeux4	*Missale Baiocense*. Rouen: Johannes Mauditier and Petrus Olivier for Petrus Regnault, 15 Dec. 1501 (Weale-Bohatta 135): Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Fol. T 678
Bayeux5	*Missale*: 1545: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Vélins 919
Bayeux6	Bayeux, Bibliothèque du Chapitre, ms. 121 (O 13th c.), ed. U. Chevalier, *Ordinaire et Coutumier de l'église cathédral de Bayeux (XIIIe siècle)*, Bibliothèque Liturgique, 8 (Paris, 1902)
Bayeux7	Bayeux, Bibliothèque du Chapitre, ms. 119 (O 15th c.)

Canons Regular, English

Manchester, John Ryland's Library, ms. 354 (B 14th c.)

Canterbury, St Augustine

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, ms. 270 (M 11/12th c.)

Carmelite1	Munich, Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek, clm. 23030 (A 15th c.)
Carmelite2	Oxford, University College, E 9 (B English 14th c.)
Carmelite3	Dublin, Trinity College 86 (B Kilcormick 1489?)
Carmelite4	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. lat. 1275 (B 15th c.) *↓ de France*
Carmelite5	London, Lambeth Palace Library, ms. 193 (O 14th c.), ed. B. Zimmerman, *Ordinaire de l'ordre de Notre-Dame du Mont-Carmel*, Bibliothèque Liturgique publiée par Ulysse Chevalier, 3 (Paris, 1910)
Chartres1	Chartres, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 588 (B 13th c.)
Chartres2	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 4756 (B 13th c.)
Chartres3	Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms. 103 (B St Martin-au-Val, 14th c.)
Chartres4	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. lat. 13240 (B 15th c.) *↓ de France*
Chartres5	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. lat. 1053 (B 15th c.)
Chartres6	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. lat. 1265 (B 15th c.)
Chartres7	*Breviarium*: 1661 (Bohatta, *Breviere*, 2087):

Paris, Bibliothèque Ste Geneviève, BB 8° 877-878 inv. 1063-1064

Chartres8   Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. liturg. 344 (M 14th c.)

Chartres9   Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. lat. 1794 (O St Jean-en-Vallée, $\downarrow$ de France

12th c.), ed. Delaporte

Chartres10   Chartres, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 81 ('Ordo Officiorum'

St Chéron, 16th c.)

Cosenza   *Missale Cosentinense*.Venice: Lichtenstein, 1549 (Amiet, *Missels*

et bréviaires, 325B):

London, British Library, Legg 88

Dominican   Rome, S. Sabina, XIV lit. 1 (A 13th c.)

Durham   Cambridge, Jesus College, ms. Q. B. 5 (G 15th c.)

Évreux1   Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. lat. 1270 (B 14th c.)

Évreux2   Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 216 (B 14th c.)

Évreux3   Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nouv. acq. lat. 388 (B 14th c.)

Évreux4   London, British Library, Additional 26655 (M 13th c.)

Évreux5   London, Sotheby's, 22 June 1999, lot 82 (M 1320-30)

Évreux6   Évreux, Bibliothèque du Chapitre, L. 95 (O 14th c.)

Hereford1   *Breviarium.* Rouen: Inghelbertus Haghe, 7 July 1505 (Bohatta,

Breviere, 2275), ed. W. H. Frere and L. E. G. Brown, 3 vols,

Henry Bradshaw Society, 26, 40, 46 (London, 1904-15):

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Gough Missal 69

Hereford2   *Missale ad usum percelebris Ecclesiae Herfordiensis.* Rouen:

Petrus Olivier and Johannes Mauditier, 1 Sept. 1502, ed. W. G.

Henderson (Leeds, 1874; repr. Farnborough, 1969):

London, British Library, C.35.i.4

Lisieux   Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. lat. 1065 (B 15th c.)

Messina1   *Missale Messanense secundum consuetudinem Gallicorum.*

Messina: Henricus Alding, 31 May 1480 (Hain 11304; Weale-

Bohatta 592):

Manchester, John Ryland's Library, 18620 (imperfect copy)

Messina2	*Ordo Missalis secundum consuetudinem Gallicorum et Messinensis ecclesie.* Venice: Johannes Emericus de Spira, 28 June 1499 (Amiet, *Missels et bréviaires*, 43 no. 592B): Catania, Biblioteca del Seminario, Inc. 1
Messina3	*Missale gallicanum iuxta usum Messanensis ecclesie.* Venice, 1527 (Weale-Bohatta 593*)
Messina4	*Missale Messanense*, 1538 Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, S.a.XXI.D.21
Palermo1	Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Vitrina 20-4 (G 12th c.)
Palermo2	Palermo, Biblioteca Nazionale, XIV.F.16 (M 12th c.)
Palermo3	Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 288 (T 12th c.)
Paris1	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. lat. 1023 (B 13th c.) *1 de France*
Paris2	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. lat. 10485 (B 15th c.)
Rouen1	Paris, Bibliothèque Ste Geneviève, ms. 2634 (B St Lô 13th c.)
Rouen2	Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, mss. 200-1 (B 15th c.)
Rouen3	Paris, Bibliothèque Ste Geneviève, ms. 2630 (B 15th c.)
Rouen4	*Breviarium*, 1491 (*GW* 5439)
Rouen5	*Breviarium*, 1662 (Bohatta, *Breviere*, 2635)
Rouen6	Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 326 (H 14th c.)
Rouen7	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. lat. 10549 (H 15th c.)
Rouen8	Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 380 ('Manuale' 15th c.)
Rouen9	Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 276 (M St Ouen 13th c.)
Rouen10	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. lat. 1213 (O 15th c.)
St Albans	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. Misc. 358 (G 12th c.)
St Denis	Vendôme, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 17 C (B 12th c.)
Ste Wandru	Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 164 (B 14th c.)
Sarum1	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. lat. 12036 (B 13th c.)
Sarum2	London, British Library, Stowe 12 (B 1322-25)
Sarum3	London, British Library, Royal 8. B. III (B 14th c.)
Sarum4	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. liturg. 215 (B 15th c.)
Sées1	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. lat. 13243 (B 15th c.)
Sées2	Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 217 (B 15th c.)

Sées3	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. lat. 1272 (B 15th c.) *I de France*
Senlis1	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. lat. 10480 (B 13th c.)
Senlis2	*Missale ad usum...Silvanectensis.* Paris: Desiderius Maheu, 20 Dec. 1524 (Wheale-Bohatta no. 1464):
	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Vélins 204
	Paris, Bibliothèque Ste Geneviève, BB Fol. 125 inv. 135
	Paris, Bibliothèque Ste Geneviève, BB Fol. 126 inv. 136
Sens	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. lat. 1028 (B 13th c.)
Teutonic1	Darmstadt, Hessischen Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, 872 (A *c.* 1300)
Teutonic2	Darmstadt, Hessischen Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, 850 (A *c.* 1490)
Teutonic3	Trier, Stadtbibliothek, ms. 495 (A 15th c.)
Teutonic4	Laon, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 260 (B 13th c.)
Teutonic5	Fulda, Hessisches Landesbibliothek, AA 122 (B 15th c.)
Teutonic6	*Breviarium.* [Strasbourg: Johann Prüss, after 1500?] (GW 5238):
	London, British Library, IA.1734A (*pars aestivalis* only)
Teutonic7	*Breviarium.* Nuremberg: 1504
Teutonic8	Brussels, Bibliothèque Royal Albert 1er, ms. 19004 (B 1509)
Teutonic9	*Missale.* Nürnberg: Georg Stuchs, [not before 1499]:
	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 273
Toul	*Breviarium Tullense,* 1510 (Amiet, *Missels et bréviaires,* 299):
	Manchester, John Ryland's Library, 6S 19194
	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Vélins 1664
York1	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Gough Missals 36 = Gough Liturg.1 (B 14th c., imperfect)
York2	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. Misc. 84 (B 15th c.)
York3	*Missale ad usum insignis ecclesiae Eboracensis.* ed. W. G. Henderson, Surtees Society, 59-60 (Durham, 1874)
York4	London, Lambeth (Sion Coll.), Arc. L. 40.2/L.1 (O 14th c.); N. R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries. I. London* (Oxford, 1969), 264-5

INTRODUCTION

On 17th of November 1095, at the Council of Clermont, Pope Urban II launched the First Crusade, calling for the liberation of the Holy Land[1]. Four years later, on 15th of July 1099, the crusaders' journey culminated in the conquest of Jerusalem and the subsequent establishment of Latin rule over Palestine and Syria for almost two centuries.

As Bernard Hamilton points out[2], 'The chief aim of the Crusade in the view of the participants was to liberate the church of God in Jerusalem'. Once this had been achieved, and once the western Catholic Church had been established throughout the re-conquered territories, the aim of the Catholic clergy, fully supported by the Frankish laity, was 'that of making the earthly Jerusalem a symbol of the heavenly city'.

As most of the holy places were in ruins when the crusaders arrived in Palestine, an extensive programme of restoration was immediately undertaken. Services were re-established at the great shrine churches of Jerusalem, at the basilica of Nazareth, the shrine of St George at Lydda, those of St John at Sebastia, the Transfiguration of Christ on Mount Tabor, and Our Lady of Tortosa. In addition, not only were new cathedrals built in almost all the Latin bishoprics, but new churches and chapels were also erected in the newly conquered cities, in castles, and on several rural estates[3].

In conjunction with this building programme went the endowment of clergy to serve these churches, ensuring that the liturgy was regularly performed. For example, the number of Latin dioceses in the patriarchate of Antioch increased from five in 1110 to fourteen by 1135, the year of the death of the first patriarch, Bernard of Valence.

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[1] *Le Concile de Clermont de 1095 et l'Appel à la Croisade. Actes du Colloque Universitaire International de Clermont-Ferrand (23-25 Juin 1995) Organisé et Publié avec le Concours du Conseil Régional d'Auvergne*, Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 236 (Rome, 1997).

[2] B. Hamilton, 'The Impact of Crusader Jerusalem on Western Christendom', *Catholic Historical Review*, 80 (1994), 695-713, at 698ss.

[3] B. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States. The Secular Church* (London, 1980), 361-2. Hereafter abbreviated as Hamilton.

By the end of the first kingdom in 1187, thirteen Frankish dioceses had been established in the patriarchate of Jerusalem[4]. As Hamilton points out 'The willingness of the Frankish landowning class to spend so generously on the establishment of the Latin church may not be a reliable index of their piety, but it does accurately reflect the importance which they attached to this work: the public performance of the Latin liturgy in the churches of Syria was the justification of the crusading movement'[5].

The church of the Holy Sepulchre was endowed with twenty secular canons by Godfrey of Bouillon in July 1099[6]. By 1114, the canons were reformed, becoming regular and conforming to the ideals of community life with no personal wealth that were being promoted with new vigour by the reformed papacy[7]. The adherence of the Latin church of Jerusalem to these new principles was to be a highly influential

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[4] On the establishment of the Latin church at Antioch see Hamilton 18-51; for Jerusalem see Hamilton 52-85.

[5] Hamilton 362.

[6] WT I 430-1 (§ 9, 9): '[Godefridus Bullionius] nam protinus in ecclesia Dominici Sepulchri et Templi Domini canonicos instituit eisque ampla beneficia, que prebendas vocant, simulque et honesta domicilia circa predictas deo amabiles ecclesias assignavit, ordinem et institutionem servans, quas magne et amplissime a piis principibus fundate ultra montes observant ecclesie'. Albert of Aix, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, in *RHC Occ* IV 265-713, at 490; H. E. Mayer, *Bistümer, Klöster und Stifte in Königreich Jerusalem* (Stuttgart, 1977), 1-2; Hamilton 14; K. Elm, 'Canonici regolari del S. Sepolcro', in *DIP* II 147-51; also 'Santo Sepolcro', in *DIP* VIII 934-8.

[7] On the reformed papacy and in particular on its consequences for the liturgical framework see E. Cattaneo, 'La vita comune dei chierici e la liturgia', in *La vita comune del clero nei secoli XI e XII, Atti della settimana di studio: Mendola, settembre 1959*, Miscellanea del centro di studi medioevali, 3 (Milan, 1962), 241-72; 'La liturgia nella riforma gregoriana', in *Chiesa e Riforma nella spiritualità del sec. XI* (Todi, 1968), 171-90; F. Petit, *La réforme des prêtres au moyen-âge* (Paris, 1968). The various communities of regular canons had different origins, and this diversity is reflected in their legislation. Therefore only the study of the manuscripts containing the rules, the liturgy, and the customs of individual centres of canonical life allows the reconstruction of their ecclesiastical and liturgical activities. A list of reference material relating to this kind of sources can be found in H. R. Philippeau, 'A propos du coutumier de Norwich', *Scriptorium*, 3 (1949), 295-302; as far as manuscripts pertaining to communities of regular canons are concerned this article should be read in conjunction with C. Dereine, 'Coutumiers et ordinaires de chanoines réguliers', *Scriptorium*, 5 (1951), 107-113; and 'Addenda', *Scriptorium*, 13 (1959), 244-6.

factor in the shaping of the ecclesiastical structure of the Holy Land[8]. Regular canons also occupied the cathedral churches of Nazareth, Bethlehem, Tripoli, and Hebron, and the shrine churches of Mount Sion, the church of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives, and the Templum Domini in Jerusalem. Moreover, the newly founded military orders also received the same regular canonical organisation.

The diocese of Jerusalem observed the canonical principle of diocesan uniformity, formulated in 517 at the Council of Gerona, a custom which, promoting a centralising attitude, was particularly suited to the ideals of the reformed papacy. According to the principle: 'Ut institutio missarum sicut in metropolitana ecclesia agitur ita in Dei nomine in omnibus provinciis tam ipsius misse ordo quam psallendi vel ministrandi consuetudo servetur'[9], a new foundation generally conformed its office to that of the cathedral within whose diocese the foundation was established. The application of this principle within the diocese of Jerusalem is shown by the canonical organisation of the Templars and Hospitallers, as attested by their rule, and by the adoption of the liturgy of the cathedral church of the Holy Sepulchre, as attested by their extant manuscripts. It is also witnessed by the adoption of the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre by the Carmelites.

The implementation by the patriarchate of this substantial programme of ecclesiastical organisation, during the twelfth century, necessitated the overcoming of two major practical problems; that of the availability of an adequate number of clergymen to administer and officiate in the old and new churches in the kingdom, and, as it will be demonstrated later, that of a sufficient number of books for liturgical performance.

Jonathan Riley-Smith points out that while most crusaders returned to Europe once the campaign was over, or left as soon as they could, approximately one third of those known to have settled more permanently in Syria were churchmen[10], mostly

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[8] Hamilton 93.
[9] *Collectio tripartita*, A. 2.32.c.1; see Gratian, *De Consecratione*, 2.31, ed. E. A. Friedberg, *Corpus juris canonici: I Decretum magistri Gratiani; II Decretalium collectiones*, 2nd edn (Leipzig, 1879-81, repr. Graz, 1959), I 1324,16.
[10] Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, 19.

simple priests or chaplains to noble households, who had accompanied their lords on crusade[11]. It is from among these men that the administrators of the newly established Latin church in the East were chosen.

If the establishment of the early Latin church, as well as the appointment of its ministers, was ultimately achieved within a state of precarious stability due to the constant military and political upheavals which characterised the two centuries of western settlement in the East, the same applied to the provision of service books. I do not refer so much to the difficulties involved in the physical production of these books, as to the content itself. As will be seen in the next chapter, the formation of the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre was primarily determined by the survival of individual clergymen and their books, rather than by deliberate selection of rites.

The earliest extant manuscripts of the Holy Sepulchre, datable from the 1130s onwards, show that by this date a unique liturgical use had been established in the cathedral church. While being completely western, it cannot be traced back to the liturgical use practised in any single western diocese. However its individual components clearly do derive from diverse western sources, showing that the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre has a composite nature.

The purpose of this research is first to define and analyse the characteristics of the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre. Secondly, and most importantly, it is to identify the liturgy's western sources; and thirdly, to understand the process through which these western sources were incorporated as constituent parts of the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre. This analysis increases our understanding of some of the people most responsible for the liturgy's development, as well as the overall ecclesiastical organisation of Latin Jerusalem.

Another purpose of this research is to evaluate whether the liturgy was ever varied or adapted, and if so, to identify the reasons for such modification. A comparative analysis has been conducted among liturgical manuscripts produced in Jerusalem, Acre, and Cyprus from the twelfth to the fourteenth century enabling us to evaluate the impact on the liturgy of the changing circumstances in the Latin East in the two

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[11] Hamilton 114; on the senior Latin clergy of the Frankish states in the twelfth century see Hamilton 113-36.

centuries in which this liturgical use was practised by the church of the Holy Sepulchre in the Holy Land.

The same comparative analysis has also been conducted among the European liturgical sources produced from the twelfth to the sixteenth century for the Templars and the Hospitallers. By the twelfth century it was common liturgical custom that the daughter-houses of a foundation established in another diocese would adopt the office of the mother-house, not that of the diocese within which the new house was settled[12]. Therefore the analysis of the Templar and Hospitaller liturgical sources produced for their European houses allows us to determine whether these two orders, which had originally adopted the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, also used this liturgy in their European houses.

None of the traditional historical sources for the history of the Crusader East reports specific information on the liturgical use practised by the church of the Holy Sepulchre. Not even the cartulary recording the activities of the chapter of the Holy Sepulchre, nor that of another community of regular canons, the abbey of Mount Sion[13], provide any detailed information on this subject. Similarly, although a number of pilgrims' and contemporary historians' chronicles bear witness to the importance attached to liturgical celebrations in the Holy Land, they do not give any

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[12] The case of Marbach (Alsace) whose daughter-houses spread the office of Strasbourg in Switzerland has been analysed in detail by P. Wittwer, 'Quellen zur Liturgie der Chorherren von Marbach', *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft*, 32 (1990), 307-61. In the same way, after the Cluniac reform, Benedictine monasteries founded or reformed by Cluny would conform to the office of Cluny, their mother-house; see P. M. Gy, 'La liturgie des chanoines de St. Ruf' in *Le monde des chanoines (XIe-XIVe s.)*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux, 24 (Toulouse, 1989), 181-91, at 184-85.

[13] The cartulary of the Holy Sepulchre has been preserved in two manuscripts, Rome, BAV, Vat. lat. 7241 and 4947; see *Cartulaire de l'Eglise du Saint-Sépulcre de Jérusalem*, ed. E. de Rozière, Collection des documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, ser. 1, 5 (Paris, 1849), reprinted in *PL* CLV col. 1105-1262; hereafter abbreviated as de Rozière. The cartulary has been lately revised by G. Bresc-Bautier, *Le cartulaire du chapitre du Saint-Sépulcre de Jérusalem*, Documents relatifs à l'histoire des Croisades publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 15 (Paris, 1984); hereafter abbreviated as Bresc-Bautier. For the cartulary of Mount Sion see E. Rey, 'Chartes de l'Abbaye du Mont-Sion', *Mémoires de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France*, ser. 5, 8 (1887).

specific information on the actual liturgical use adopted by the religious communities in the Latin East[14]. With no extant records specifically recording how the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre was formulated, when, and by whom, it is only through an analysis of the extant manuscripts of the liturgy itself that it is possible to reconstruct events left obscure for centuries.

From the seventeenth century onwards some of the liturgical manuscripts from the Holy Land have received the attention of scholars from a variety of disciplines.

In 1675 Daniel van Papenbroek listed in *Acta Sanctorum* the feast for the liberation of Jerusalem and those for several bishops of Jerusalem, which he extracted from a 'Matutinale temporis hiemalis secundum normam legendi in ecclesia Dominici Sepulcri', apparently copied in the fourteenth century for a community of Regular Canons of the Holy Sepulchre in the diocese of Utrecht[15]. Papenbroek also noted the similarity of the Carmelite liturgy to that of the Holy Sepulchre[16]. Dom Edmond Martène[17] transcribed parts of the Pontifical of Apamea, of which he received a copy made for him by Jean Deslyons, dean of Senlis, within whose diocese were the Cistercians of Chaalis, who were in possession of the original manuscript[18]. In 1740

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[14] The patriarch's celebration of Mass at Templum Domini on Candlemas, at Mount of Olives on Ascension day, at Mount Sion on Pentecost, at Josaphat on the Assumption, was regulated in detail; see de Rozière 138 no. 66; the processions performed during special feasts as well as the ceremony, on Holy Saturday, of the 'miracle' of the holy fire, first mentioned in the ninth century and interdicted by Gregory IX in 1238, have been described in a number of pilgrims' chronicles and by contemporary historians; see Kohler 420 n. 1; see also A. J. MacGregor, *Fire and Light in the Western Triduum* (Collegeville, Mn., 1993).

[15] *Acta Sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur*, ed. J. Bollandus, et al. (Antwerp, Tongerloo, Paris, and Brussells, 1643-), 8 Apr., I 789: 'De beato Alberto, patriarcha Hierosolimitano', § 88; and see Kohler 385. To date, I have been unable to locate this manuscript.

[16] *Ibid.* § 86-88.

[17] E. Martène, *De antiquis Ecclesiae ritibus*, 1st edn, 4 vols (Lyon, 1700-1706), I 196-8, 259-60; II 2-2-3, 449-63; III 39-40, 124-7, 178-80, 299-304, 335, 353-4, 363-4, 636-8; 2nd edn, 3 vols (Antwerp, 1736-37), I col. 204-6, 262-3, 931-3; II col. 192-206, 441-2, 534-7, 558-9, 590-1, 762-7, 796, 813-5, 824, 1110-3; *id.*, *Tractatus de antiqua Ecclesiae disciplina*, 1st edn (Lyon, 1706), 121-2, 318-20, 370-1, 442-3; 2nd edn (forming t. III of the second edition of *De antiquis Ecclesiae ritibus*, published in 1737), 131-2, 324-6, 372-4, 449-51; see also Kohler 383-4.

[18] For the original, now London, British Library, Add. 57528, and the copy, now Lyon, Bibliothèque Municipale, cod. 570, see Kohler 383-4, who considered the

Michael Le Quien listed a calendar from the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem, copied between 1308 and 1315[19]. A few years later, Giandomenico Mansi, archbishop of Lucca, published a short chronicle of the Holy Land which he had found in a breviary from the Holy Sepulchre in his possession, although no attention was given to the manuscript itself[20]. Giovanni Maria Giovene, archpriest of the cathedral of Amalfi, published in 1828 several parts of an ordinal kept in the church of the Holy Sepulchre of Barletta, Apulia[21].

Charles Kohler[22] also devoted substantial attention to two manuscripts which present the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre, namely the abovementioned Barletta manuscript and a fourteenth-century breviary kept in the Musée Condé of Chantilly, which he had been notified of by Léopold Delisle[23].

By the turn of the twentieth century, works on the Carmelite liturgy started to appear, creating further interest in the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre as the ultimate source for tracing and understanding the origin of the Carmelite liturgy. Gabriel Wessels clearly states that the original Carmelite rite was that of the church of Jerusalem, within whose diocese the order had been founded, and in analysing its constituent parts he drew largely on the Barletta Ordinal of the Holy Sepulchre[24]. No investigation, however, was conducted on the sources of the Jerusalem rite. In the second part of his work Wessels looks at the evolution of the Carmelite rite,

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original manuscript lost, and **BL57528**.

[19] M. Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, 3 vols (Paris, 1740), III col. 1220; the manuscript is now in St Wandrille, Bibliothèque de l'Abbaye, P. 12; see Kohler 384-5, who considered the manuscript lost, and **Wand**.

[20] *Stephanii Baluzii miscellaneorum liber primus* [-septimus], ed. G. D. Mansi (Lucca, 1761-4), 432 repr. in *RHC Occ* V 370; the manuscript is still in Lucca, Biblioteca Arcivescovile, ms. 5; see Kohler 384, who considered the manuscript lost, and **Lucca**.

[21] *Kalendaria vetera manuscripta aliaque monumenta ecclesiarum Apuliae et Iapygiae*, ed. G. M. Giovene (Naples, 1828), 1-68; the manuscript is still kept in the cathedral church of Barletta; see Kohler 385-500 and **Barletta**.

[22] C. Kohler, 'Un Rituel et un Bréviaire du Saint-Sépulcre de Jérusalem (XIIe-XIIIe siècle)', *Revue de l'Orient latin*, 8 (1900-1901), 383-500.

[23] Chantilly, Musée Condé, ms. 1076; see Kohler 387-500 and **Chant1076**.

[24] Wessels II 63-71, 95-99, 118-26, 151-3, 188-95, 211-14, 242-7, 293-8, 315-20, 345-50, 377-85, 406-15.

transcribing parts from the revised Carmelite Ordinal of Sibert van Beek[25], whose oldest exemplar, now in London, was then edited by Benedict Zimmerman[26]. Zimmerman collated the London manuscript with the Ordinal of the Holy Sepulchre, Vat659, 'prototype du rite carmélitain', as well as with two Florentine manuscript copies of the Carmelite Ordinal[27], and with the 1544 printed edition of the ordinal[28], concluding that there was a close resemblance between the use of the Holy Sepulchre and that of Paris, 'as we know it from Jean Beleth'[29]. He also observes the total absence of any Oriental influence on the rite, as well as the composite nature of the liturgical use presented by Vat659[30].

Another ordinal, Dublin, Trinity College, ms. 194, was edited by Patrick de Saint-Joseph in 1912-14[31]; the editor, however, while noticing that the text of this ordinal, datable to *c.* 1263, clearly referred to older material, does not make any reference to the Carmelite connection to the Holy Sepulchre and generally no attempt is made to identify the sources of the Carmelite use.

More recently, Forcadell[32] noted the substantial influence exercised by the rite of the church of Rouen[33] on that of the Carmelites, without mentioning the Carmelite -

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[25] Wessels III 443-51, 470-5, 501-9, 537-44, 566-73, 632-8, 660-2.

[26] London, Lambeth Palace Library, ms. 193. B. Zimmerman, *Ordinaire de l'Ordre de Notre-Dame du Mont-Carmel*, Bibliothèque Liturgique publiée par Ulysse Chevalier, 3 (Paris, 1910).

[27] Florence, BNC, ms. 11. ix. 68, and ms. B. 9. 1795.

[28] *Ordinale divinorum officiorum sacrae religionis Carmelitarum.* Venice: Nicolaus de Bascarinis, 1544 (London, BL, 3395.dd.5 - destroyed).

[29] Iohannis Beleth, *Summa de Ecclesiasticis Officiis*, ed. H. Douteil, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medievalis, 41-41A (Turnhout, 1976). On Beleth see P. Masini, '"Magister" Johannes Beleth: ipotesi di una traccia biografica', *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, 107 (1993), 248-59 and *Studi Medievali*, 34 (1993), 303-14.

[30] Zimmerman x-xii.

[31] Patrick de Saint-Joseph (Rushe), 'Antiquum Ordinis Carmelitarum Ordinale, Saec. xiii', *Études Carmélitaines*, 2-4 (1912-14), 5-251.

[32] A. M. Forcadell, *Ritus Carmelitanarum Antiquae observantiae*, Bibliotheca Carmelitana 2. Extractum ex *Ephemerides Liturgicae* (Rome, 1950), 9.

[33] On the liturgy of Rouen see A. R. Collette, *Histoire du bréviaire de Rouen* (Rouen, 1902); *Le graduel de l'église cathédrale de Rouen au XIII*e *siècle. Étude du ms. lat. 904 de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, facsimile with introductory studies by H. M. F. Loriquet, J. Pothier, and A. R. Collette, 2 vols (Rouen, 1907); Abbé Legris, *L'école normande de chant liturgique* (Tournai, 1923); R. Delamare, 'Les études liturgiques normandes', *Bulletin de la société des antiquaires de Normandie*, 37

Holy Sepulchre connection. However, in his systematic analysis of the Carmelite liturgy, Pascal Kallenberg[34] rejects Rouen in favour of Nevers on the basis of his analysis of the saints listed in the calendar and sanctoral.

A different approach was that of Hugo Buchthal[35]. His art historical analysis, supported by Francis Wormald's paleographical expertise, produced the first systematic research on book production and illumination in the *scriptorium* of the church of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem, in the years 1099-1187. His work has been continued by Jaroslav Folda, who looks at the production of books in Acre, in the period 1275-1291[36] and who has recently compiled an overview of the entire period of art production in the crusader states, 1098-1187[37].

All these studies, while correctly identifying the western, and more specifically French, nature of the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre, were unable to provide a definite identification of its sources, as their investigation did not go beyond the evidence

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(1929), 151-292, at 198ss.

Forcadell also points out the similarity between the Carmelite and the Sarum use. In fact the Sarum use, before it was given its final shape by bishop Richard Poore (1217-28), was brought to Salisbury by Osmund of Rouen, when he was appointed bishop of Salisbury in 1078. He rearranged the customs of the church of Salisbury and introduced some variations according to the advice of John d'Ivry, bishop of Avranches (1060-67) and later archbishop of Rouen (1067-79); Forcadell 9; *Missale ad usum...ecclesiae Sarum*, ed. F. H. Dickinson (Oxford and London, 1861-83), iv; Ottosen 244. On the Sarum liturgy see also *The Sarum Missal*, ed. J. Wickham Legg (Oxford, 1916); *Breviarium as usum insignis Ecclesiae Sarum*, ed. F. Procter and C. Wordsworth, 3 vols (Cambridge, 1879-86); *Processionale ad usum insignis ac praeclarae Ecclesiae Sarum*, ed. W. G. Henderson (Leeds, 1882); a description of the consuetudinary of S. Osmund can be found in D. Rock, *The Church of Our Fathers, as seen in St. Osmund's Rite for the Cathedral of Salisbury*, 3 vols (London, 1849-53), III,2 1-74; L. C. Sheppard, 'Rites, English Medieval', in *The New Catholic Encyclopedia*, ed. Catholic University of America,18 vols (New York, 1967-88), XII 519-22.

[34] P. Kallenberg, *Fontes Liturgiae Carmelitanae: investigatio in decreta, codices et proprium sanctorum*, Textus et Studia Carmelitana, 5 (Rome, 1962), 92-100; hereafter abbreviated as Kallenberg.

[35] H. Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Oxford, 1957); hereafter abbreviated as Buchthal.

[36] J. Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination at Saint-Jean d'Acre, 1275-1291* (Princeton, NJ, 1976) ; hereafter abbreviated as Folda, *Crusader Manuscript*.

[37] J. Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098-1187* (Cambridge, 1995); hereafter abbreviated as Folda, *The Art*.

provided by the presence of the saints listed in the calendar and in the sanctoral of certain manuscripts of the Holy Sepulchre. In addition, these studies do not focus on the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre itself, but rather treat these liturgical books as reference material or as art objects. There is also a lack of a comprehensive inventory of the extant sources, which extended beyond the decorated objects to include breviaries and above all ordinals, which, among all of the liturgical books, provide us with the most complete example of any given liturgical use. In the debate which followed Enrico Cattaneo's paper, 'La vita comune dei chierici e la liturgia', Dom François Petit remarked on the importance of the study of the ordinals for a clear understanding of different canonical communities[38]. He uses a liturgical basis to devide the Regular Canons into three groups: there were those who spread the Roman liturgy; those who followed the liturgy of their local cathedral, like the Premonstratensians of Magdeburg or the Canons of Mont-Sion and of the Temple of Jerusalem, and, we can add, like the Templars and the Hospitallers. Finally there were those who developed a liturgy of their own, like the Premonstratensians or the Canons of the Holy Sepulchre. As Petit points out, the Canons of the Holy Sepulchre, while utilising the Gregorian Sacramentary and Antiphonal, gave to their liturgy a 'couleur merveilleuse par l'introduction des couleurs liturgiques, par le jeu des stations, par les chants de procession et sont arrivés à imprimer aux lectures et aux chants de l'Eglise une vie toute nouvelle'. In this description of the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre the two fundamental components of liturgy are clearly defined: the ritual and ceremonial part, relating to the processions, the code of acting, dressing, gesture, and use of objects, as well as the equally important chant repertoire, the selection of singing during mass and office. While they are both essential in the definition of a liturgical practice, it is the chant repertoire that confers distinctiveness on a liturgical use[39]. Therefore, only by using a method of comparative liturgy which

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[38] E. Cattaneo, 'La vita comune dei chierici e la liturgia', in *La vita comune del clero nei secoli XI e XII, Atti della settimana di studio: Mendola, settembre 1959*, Miscellanea del centro di studi medioevali, 3 (Milan, 1962), 241-72; the debate at 274.

[39] I will not, in the present study, be dwelling upon the ceremonial aspect of the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre, which, thanks to its 'marvellous colour', has already received some attention; see, for example, A. Schönfelder,' Die Prozessionen der

allows a comparison of the chant repertoire of the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre against the widest possible range of western liturgical uses, it is possible to identify clearly the western sources of the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre.

The Method

As Pierre-Marie Gy points out[40], there persisted, from the ninth to the fifteenth century, a degree of local variation in both the mass and the office chant repertoire. This variation existed despite the efforts of Charlemagne and his collaborators, Alcuin and Benedict of Aniane, to develop a uniform imperial liturgy based on that of Rome, to complement their plans for a reformed Frankish clergy. Even after Benedict of Aniane's and Alcuin's additions to the official Papal Sacramentary that was received from Rome and deemed to be lacking in specificity, local Frankish churches also made their own additions to meet their own local needs. Each church added the feasts for its proper and regional saints to the Roman calendar, they put together their own collection of votive masses, and the Roman Canon received local variants, in particular the lists of saints mentioned in the prayers *Communicantes*, *Nobis quoque*, and *Libera nos*. The collection of Alleluia verses for the 23 Sundays after the Octave of Pentecost is of specific relevance for us as in the Roman model they were not arranged in any specific order, but were individually fixed in each diocese or religious order.

In contrast to the Gregorian Sacramentary and the mass antiphonal (gradual), the office antiphonal (antiphonal) never attained the status of an official liturgical book, due to the impossiblity of unifying such an extremely diverse office repertory and using it to aid the unification of the Empire. In fact in the antiphonals, and later in the breviaries, virtually every office of the liturgical year presents an original configuration determined by a long established local tradition. As Huglo points out,

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Lateiner in Jerusalem zur Zeit der Kreuzzüge', *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 32 (1911), 578-97, based on a fourteenth-century ordinal now in Wroclaw, University Library, ms. I Qu. 175, which I have been unable to view.

[40] P.-M. Gy, `La liturgie des chanoines réguliers de Saint-Ruf', in *Le monde des chanoines (XF-XIV s.)*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux, 24 (Toulouse, 1989), 181-91, at 182.

the driving force behind these office books was an attachment to local practices rather than desire for unity[41]. Consequently, the arrangement of the antiphons and responsories in the office chant repertoire (antiphonal) shows even greater local differences than does the mass office. Once established, these local usages remained stable throughout the middle ages, at least down to the sixteenth century.

From the beginning of this century, liturgists, mainly Benedictines, have been working towards the identification of these local liturgical variations. In particular, Dom Gabriel Beyssac (1877-1965)[42], investigating during his lifetime some 10,000 manuscripts and early printed books, discovered that most variants occur in the series of responsories and versicles for Matins at specific times of the liturgical year, namely: the four Sundays of Advent and the Christmas Ember Days, the three nights before Easter or *Triduum Sacrum* (Maundy Thursday, Good Friday and Holy Saturday) and Easter Day itself, the feast of All Saints (1 Nov.), the feast of All Souls (2 Nov.), as well as the Office for the dedication of the church. For the above mentioned feasts the canonical office contains nine lessons, each correlated with a responsory and a versicle, while the monastic office contains twelve.

To make possible a recognition of the relationship between different liturgical uses, Dom Beyssac developed a numerically-based methodology, allocating a specific number for each different responsory and versicle he encountered. This allows each sequence of nine or twelve responsories, each corresponding to a specific use, to be expressed in a numerical sequence. The sequences are then listed in numerical order, allowing the identification of the relationship between them[43].

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[41] M. Huglo, *Les livres de chant liturgique*, Typologie des sources du Moyen Age occidental, 52 (Turnhout, 1988), 86ss and P. M. Gy, `Histoire de la liturgie en Occident jusq'au Concile de Trente', in *L'église en prière*, ed. A. G. Martimort (Paris, 1983), 57-73, at 66-9.

[42] On Beyssac see F. Combaluzier, `In memoriam Gabrielis Beyssac', *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, 82 (1968), 47-53.

[43] See plate no. 14 taken from a page of the computerized version of the list of responsories of the Office of the Dead, Ottosen 153; the indication of use is followed by the date of the source, its present location, the provider of the information (ex. B = Beyssac; KO= Knud Ottosen), and by the sequence of responsories in their numerical arrangement.

In addition, Father Beyssac applied this system to the Alleluia verses of the Mass of the Sundays after the Octave of Pentecost, as Walter Howard Frere had noted that is it possible to determine the liturgical use of a sacramentary or missal through their analysis[44].

Following in Beyssac's path, Victor Leroquais fruitfully applied Beyssac's method of identification while preparing the catalogues of liturgical manuscripts in French libraries which he published between 1924 and 1943. The lists which Leroquais compiled on the responsories for Advent, *Triduum Sacrum*, Office of the dead, and for the Alleluia verses can be seen, in manuscript form, in the Bibliothèque Nationale[45]. He also developed a method for the identification of the use of the Office of the Virgin in breviaries and books of hours[46] which had originally been detected by Falconer Madan[47].

In the following years more works on the identification of local uses appeared. Volumes V and VI of Dom Hesbert's *Corpus antiphonalium officii*[48] concentrate on the series of responsories and versicles for Matin of the four Sundays of Advent and the Christmas Ember Days; in 1986 they were computerised by Knud Ottosen.[49] Dom Le Roux (Solesmes) published in 1979 his own data on the responsories for Matins of the *Triduum Sacrum*[50], reorganised in 1995 by Father Gy[51]. Heinrich

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[44] W. H. Frere, *Graduale Sarisburiense* (London, 1894), i; see Hiley, *Post-Pentecost*, 145.

[45] Paris, BN, nouv. acq. lat. 3160, 3161, 3164, and 3163.

[46] Paris, BN, nouv. acq. lat. 3162.

[47] F. Madan, 'Documents and Records. A. Hours of the Virgin Mary (Tests for Localization)', *Bodleian Quarterly Record*, 2nd quarter III/26 (1920), 40-44, repr. in *Essays in History Presented to Reginald Lane Poole*, ed. H. W. C. Davis (Oxford, 1927), 21-9.

[48] R. J. Hesbert, *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii*, 6 vols, Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Documenta. Series Maior. Fontes, 7-12 (Rome, 1963-1979).

[49] K. Ottosen, *L'Antiphonaire latin au moyen âge. Réorganisation des séries des répons de l'avent classés par R.-J. Hesbert*, Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Documenta. Extra Seriem (Rome, 1986).

[50] R. Le Roux, 'Répons du Triduo Sacro et de Pâques', *Études Grégoriennes*, 18 (1979), 157-176.

[51] P. M. Gy, 'Les répons de matines des trois nuits avant Pâques et la géographie liturgique du moyen âge latin', *Requirentes modos musicos. Mélanges offerts à Dom Jean Claire*, ed. D. Saulnier (Solesmes, 1995), 29-39.

Husmann[52] has published the most comprehensive repertoire of post-Pentecost alleluias, while Michel Huglo[53] has attempted an initial evaluation of these lists. Recently David Hiley[54], in providing data on the post-Pentecost alleluias from medieval British sources, has also produced a useful introduction to and explanation of the comparative method involved in the analysis of such data. Unfortunately most of Beyssac's material is still unpublished, with only his work on the office of the Dead having been computerised by Knud Ottosen in recent years[55].

As my work consists in the identification and analysis of a specific liturgical use (that of the Holy Sepulchre) which has not previously received detailed attention, the use of Dom Beyssac's extremely clear and well organised work on the variants that occur in the series of responsories and versicles for Matins at the previously listed specific times of the liturgical year has proved crucial in three ways. Once I had identified the relevant liturgical data from the earliest and most complete manuscripts from the Holy Sepulchre, namely the Angelica Sacramentary, **Ang477**, and the Vatican Ordinal, **Vat659**, the consultation of Beyssac's material allowed me to locate other manuscripts of the same use. Secondly, I was able to verify the adoption of the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre by the Templars, Hospitallers, and Carmelites. Finally, and most importantly, the way Beyssac arranged his material allowed me to identify, through comparative work, the sources of the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre itself.

It is important to notice how, for the purpose of the identification of the origin of the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre, I have been able to compare data extracted from

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[52] H. Husmann, 'Studien zur geschichtlichen Stellung der Liturgie Kopenhagens', *Dansk Aarbog for Musik Forskning* (1962), 3-58; *id.*, 'Die Oster- und Pfingstalleluia der Kopenhagener Liturgie und ihre historischen Beziehungen', *Dansk Aarbog for Musik Forskning* (1964-5), 3-62.

[53] M. Huglo, 'Les listes alléluiatiques dans les témoins du graduel grégorien', in *Speculum Musicae Artis, Festgabe für Heinrich Husmann*, ed. H. Becker and R. Gerlach (Munich, 1970), 219-227.

[54] D. Hiley, 'Post-Pentecost Alleluias in Medieval British Liturgies', in *Music in the Medieval English Liturgy. Plainsong and Medieval Music Society Centennial Essays*, ed. S. Rankin and D. Hiley (Oxford, 1993), 145-74, at 145-59; hereafter abbreviated as Hiley, *Post-Pentecost*.

[55] K. Ottosen, *The Responsories and Versicles of the Latin Office of the Dead* (Aarhus, 1993).

various offices included in the manuscripts of the Holy Sepulchre. While it is true that the similarity shown within a specific office between different sources is clearly evidence of some relationship (whose nature has then to be investigated), it has to be remembered that what is true for a specific office does not necessarily apply to a liturgical use in its entirety. As Hiley points out[56], liturgies are composed of layers of material, each, in a different degree, subject to modification and renovation. This is particularly true for the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre, which, as will be shown, originated from multiple sources. Given that the relatively small amount of published data for comparative liturgical studies is limited both in quality (only a few offices have been analysed, while more offices could turn out to be as distinctive as the ones generally taken into consideration) and quantity (most studies focus on sources extracted from a limited number of manuscripts), the work on Beyssac's unpublished data from thousands of manuscripts and early printed books has proved essential.

I am very grateful to Father Gy for having directed me towards the Beyssac Collection and to Brother François Huot, the custodian of the material, for his help in the consultation of Beyssac's papers.

Arrangement of the research and selection of the Sources

The arrangement of the research is as follows. Chapter 1 addresses the history of the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre, which has been made possible through combining the new evidence provided from the analysis of the liturgical data extracted from the sources from the Holy Sepulchre with the historical information already available on the development of the ecclesiastical organisation of the Crusader States and their clerical personnel. There is then a discussion of the relevant manuscripts produced in Jerusalem, Acre, and Cyprus, which uses the new liturgical analysis to determine more fully their origin, date, and use within the ecclesiastical framework of the Crusader States. It also includes a discussion on the liturgical manuscripts adopted by the Templars of Jerusalem and Acre, but not of the Hospitallers, since their extant

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[56] Hiley, *Post-Pentecost*, 147-8.

exemplars were all produced in Europe. The 18 manuscripts discussed in chapter 1 are described in detail in Appendix 1; an explanation of the principles on which the catalogue of these manuscripts has been compiled can be found immediately preceding the catalogue itself.

Chapter 2 contains an evaluation of the two liturgical manuscripts proven to have been used by Templar communities in Europe. They are described in Appendix 2.

Chapter 3 focuses on the characteristics of the 66 liturgical manuscripts, and 9 early printed editions used by Hospitaller communities throughout Europe from the twelfth to the seventeenth century. Given their considerable number, unlike those of the Templars, they are listed in the inventory compiled in Appendix 3. Their liturgical details, expecially from the missals, breviaries, and books of hours, have in many cases been taken into consideration to increase our understanding of the evolution of the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre through the centuries. This information is included in the liturgical analysis conducted in Chapter 4.

Finally Chapter 4 contains the comparative liturgical analysis of the chant repertoire extracted from all the manuscripts and early printed books which present the liturgical use of the Holy Sepulchre. It also contains a presentation of comparative material from different liturgical uses and a complete listing of the variants that occur within the sources of the Holy Sepulchre. The purpose of this analysis is twofold: the identification of the sources adopted for the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre and an evaluation of the variation within the use of the Holy Sepulchre itself.

The present work focuses on liturgical manuscripts produced in Jerusalem, Acre, and Cyprus for the cathedral church and the canons of the Holy Sepulchre, for members of the royal family of Jerusalem and for those religious institutions which adopted the liturgical use of the cathedral church of Jerusalem[57]. This category

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[57] A thirteenth-century French copy of the 'Officium in festivitate sancte Hierusalem', consisting of ff. 134-135 of London, British Library, Add. 8927, which contains texts of Fulcher of Chartres, Walter the Chancellor, and Raymond d'Aguilers, has been transcribed and analysed by A. Linder, 'The Liturgy of the Liberation of Jerusalem', *Medieval Studies*, 52 (1990), 110-131. This liturgical

includes the liturgical manuscripts written and used, both in the Latin East and in Europe, by the two main military orders, the Templars and the Hospitallers. It does not include the liturgical manuscripts of the Carmelite order.

Initially a group of *conversi* living a life of prayer and penitence on Mount Carmel towards the end of the twelfth century, at some time between 1206 and 1214 the Carmelites received a rule from Albert of Vercelli, patriarch of Jerusalem (1205-14), which was later confirmed by Honorius III (1216-1227) in 1226[58]. When the Carmelites, driven from the Holy Land by the Saracen invansions, began to settle in Europe from about 1240, their eremitical rule became unsuitable to their new conditions and a new rule was drawn up for them by the Dominicans Cardinal Hugh of Saint-Cher and William bishop of Antarad (Tartous) and approved by Innocent IV (1243-1254) in 1248[59]; the new consititutions, based on those of the Dominicans, changed the status of the Carmelite order from an eremitical to a coenobitical way of life. The only witness to this period of the order is the 'Antiquum Ordinis Carmelitarum Ordinale saec. xiii' (Dublin, Trinity College, m. 194), written in about 1263[60], which unquestionably shows an adaptation to the Dominican rite. However in 1312 the Carmelite Ordinal was revised by Sibert van Beek to reflect the original liturgy of the order, that of the Holy Sepulchre[61]. The Carmelites' liturgical

fragment has not been included into the present catalogue.

[58] E. Friedman, *The Latin Hermits of Mount Carmel. A Study in Carmelite Origins*, Institutum Historicum Teresianum. Studia, 1 (Rome, 1979), 170-97; A. T. Jotischky, *The Perfection of Solitude: Hermits and Monks in the Crusader States* (The Pennsylvania State University, 1995), 119-38 and V. Mosca, *Alberto Patriarca di Gerusalemme: Tempo-Vita-Opera*, Textus et Studia Historica Carmelitana, 20 (Rome, 1996). On the question of the Carmelite liturgical observance, while correctly stating that it conformed exactly to the practice of the canons of the Holy Sepulchre, Jotischky concludes with the rather unintelligible, and regrettably wrong, assertion that 'the offices are thus those of the Augustinian canons throughout western Europe'.

[59] Bonniwell 196-7 and A. T. Jotischky, 'Gerard of Nazareth, John Bale and the Origins of the Carmelite Order', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 46 (1995), 214-36, at 216.

[60] See above, note 31.

[61] Zimmerman x-xii and Bonniwell 198. Fourteenth- and fifteenth-century exemplars of van Beek's Ordinal are kept in Modena, B. Estense, ms. γ W 5 17; London, Lambeth Palace, ms. 193; Florence, BNC, ms. 11. ix. 68, and ms. B. 9. 1795; Koblenz, SA, ms. Abt. 701, Nr. 120; Bamberg, SB, ms. lit. 120; Palermo, BN, ms.

manuscripts, however, are not included in this catalogue as they have already been described by Pascal Kallenberg[62]. However, it will be necessary occasionally to refer to Carmelite sources, for the Carmelites retained most of the feasts of Jerusalem in their calendar and, most importantly, the chant repertoire of the Holy Sepulchre.

This work does not include the liturgical manuscripts of the Teutonic order[63]. The Teutonic order was founded at Acre in the aftermath of Henry VI's crusade in 1198 and it was confirmed by Innocent III with a bull dated 19th of February 1199. However, despite modelling itself on the Templars and on the Hospitallers, the Teutonic order was granted permission to adopt the Dominican liturgy in 1257, retaining only some of the Jerusalem festivites in its calendar[64].

Dep. mus. 2; and Dijon, BM, ms. 121. Extracts have been printed in Wessels III, 443-51, 470-5, 501-9, 537-44, 566-73, 632-8, 660-2.

[62] Kallenberg. See also J. J. Boyce, 'Medieval Carmelite Office Manuscripts, a Liturgical Inventory', *Carmelus*, 33 (1986), 17-34. For printed editions of the Carmelite Breviary see Bohatta, *Breviere,* 135-8 nos 1539-74 and Amiet, *Missels et bréviaires*, 194-8 nos 1539-1574N; for printed editions of the Carmelite Missal see Weale-Bohatta 319-22 nos 1884-1912* and Amiet, *Missels et bréviaires*, 121-3 nos 1884-1912D; for printed editions of the Carmelite Hours see H. Bohatta, *Bibliographie der Livres d'heures (Horae B.M.V.), Officia, Hortuli animae, Coronae B.M.V., Rosaria und Cursus B.M.V. des XV. und XVI. Jahrhunderts*, 2nd rev. edn (Vienna, 1924), no. 1460 (Gent: Arend de Keysere, c. 1487); no. 1461 (Lyon: [San Busignan Gorgoni], 18 May 1516; copy in San Marino, Ca., Huntington Library, RB 108773); no. 1462 (Lyon: Bern Lescuyer, 1516). Finally, for editions of the Carmelite *Propria* see Amiet, *Missels et bréviaires*, 447-52 nos P2610-P2678.

[63] On the history of the order see I. Sterns, 'The Teutonic Knights in the Crusader States', in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. K. M. Setton, 6 vols (Madison, Milwaukee, and London, 1969-89), V 315-378. For a list of Teutonic liturgical manuscripts see Ottosen 109 and 196; for the fifteenth-century editions of the Teutonic Breviary see *GW* 5234, 5234/10, 5235, 5236, 5237, 5238. For the sixteenth-century editions of the Teutonic Breviary see Bohatta, *Breviere,* 154-5 nos 1747-50 and Amiet, *Missels et bréviaires*, 211 nos 1748-1748B. For the sixteenth-century editions of the Teutonic Missal see Weale-Bohatta 326 nos 1936-7 and Amiet, *Missels et bréviaires*, 126 nos 1936-7. The liturgical characteristics of the Teutonic use are generally provided in the section which contains the liturgical analysis (Chapter 4), to highlight their difference from the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre.

[64] The Dominican order received its approbation, as an order of Canons Regular, in two bulls of 22nd of December 1216, issued by Honorius III (1216-27), and its constitution was laid down at the General Chapters of the order in 1220 and 1221; see P. Gleeson, 'Dominican liturgical manuscripts from before 1254', *Archivum*

My study also excludes the liturgical manuscripts of other religious military orders not founded in the Holy Land: the Spanish military orders of Calatrava, Alcántara, and Montesa[65], the order of the knights of the Holy Sepulchre[66], and other Hospitaller institutions like the order of Saint Lazarus.[67] The identification and description of the liturgical manuscripts of these orders would require a study of its own, hopefully facilitated by the present work.

Fratrum Praedicatorum, 42 (1972), 81-135; Bonniwell 10; Ottosen 239. In 1257 The Teutonic knights were granted permission, by Alexander IV (1254-1261), to use the Dominican liturgy; see Bonniwell 196.

[65] The Spanish orders of Calatrava and Alcantara belonged to the *ordo monasticus*, being placed under the Cistercian observance (Morimondo) since the time of their foundation; see Legras-Lemaître 83. On the order of Calatrava see B. Schwenk, *Calatrava. Entstehung und Frühgeschichte eines spanischen Ritterordens zisterziensischer Observanz im 12. Jahrhundert*, Spanische Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft, II/28 (Münster, 1992); and in general see K. Elm, 'Die Spiritualität der geistlichen Ritterorden des Mittelalters', in *"Militia Christi" e Crociata nei secoli XI-XIII. Atti della undecima settimana internazionale di studio, Mendola, 28 agosto - 1 settembre 1989*, Miscellanea del Centro di studi medioevali, 13 (Milan, 1992), 477-518, at 482 n. 17.

[66] On the history of the order of the knights of the Holy Sepulchre, founded in the fourteenth century, see J.-P. de Gennes, *Les Chevaliers du Saint-Sepulcre de Jerusalem* (Cholet en Anjou, 1995) and K. Elm, 'Kanoniker und Ritter vom Heiligen Grab', in *Die geistlichen Ritterorden Europas*, ed. J. Fleckenstein and M. Hellmann, Vorträge und Forschungen Herausgegeben vom Konstanzer Arbeitskreis für mittelalterliche Geschichte, 26 (Sigmaringen, 1980), 141-71.

[67] M. Barber, 'The Order of Saint Lazarus and the Crusades', *Catholic Historical Review*, 80 (1994), 439-56 repr. in *Crusaders and Heretics, 12th-14th Centuries*, Collected Studies Series (Aldershot, 1995), XIII.

CHAPTER 1: THE LITURGY OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE

The liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre is the practice adopted by the Latin western catholics after they had settled in Jerusalem as a result of the first crusade, in 1099. The liturgy originated within the cathedral church of the Holy Sepulchre, the patriarchal see, and it was consequently adopted by all secular religious institutions within the patriarchate[1]. It did not, apparently, extend to the patriarchate of Antioch, as can be ascertained from an extant fragment of a liturgical manuscript from Antioch. The miscellaneous manuscript *Vaticanus latinus 14815* contains a calendar which has been identified by Victor Saxer as having been used by Opizzo I Fieschi, the Latin patriarch of Antioch (1247-1292), in the thirteenth century[2]. It is the only surviving exemplar of the liturgical practice of the patriarchate of Antioch and it attests a substantially different sanctoral from that of Jerusalem[3].

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[1] It is reasonable to infer that the Benedictine foundations of Mount Tabor in Galilee (Hamilton 60-1) and Our Lady of Josaphat (Hamilton 62), the Benedictine convents of Sta Anna, Sta Maria Latina, Ste Marie-la-Grande (Hamilton 100), the Cistercian monasteries of St John in Nemore and Salvatio (Hamilton 102), and the Cistercian enclosed nuns of Sta Maria Magdalena in Acre (Hamilton 300, 304), from which we have no extant manuscripts, all practised a monastic use.

[2] Rome, BAV, Vat. lat. 14815, ff. 22-27; see V. Saxer, 'Le calendrier de l'église latine d'Antioche à l'usage du patriarche Opizzo Ier Fieschi (1254-1255)', *Rivista di storia della chiesa in Italia*, 26 (1972), 105-23.

[3] It contains some forty Antiochene saints that are not found in the Jerusalem sanctoral. Among the western saints recorded, Vedastus and Amandus (6 Feb.), Albinus (1 Mar.), Medardus and Gildardus (8 June), Maurilius (13 Sept.), Lambertus (17 Sept.), Nicasius (11 Oct.) and Leonardus (6 Nov.), and, to a lesser extent, Arnulphus (18 July), Audoenus (24 Aug.), Firminus (25 Sept.) and Fides (6 Oct.) are common to the Jerusalem sanctoral; however Furseus (16 Jan.) ab of Lagny, Laumerus (*i.e.* Launomarus 19 Jan.) ab of Corbion, Chartres, Geminianus (31 Jan.), Senator (15 July), and Euvertus (*i.e.* Aubertus 7 Sept.) bp of Avranches are solely found in the Antiochene sanctoral; see Saxer 107-109; the calendar is edited in full on 112-23. BL57528, the so called Pontifical of Apamea, was probably written for Peter II of Ivrea, patriarch of Antioch (1209-17). It is therefore another exemplar of the Antiochene Latin rite; however, because of the type of book, a Pontifical does not contain a calendar, a sanctoral, nor the chant repertoire, BL57528 does not provide any further information on the liturgical use adopted in Antioch.

The liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre is completely western[4], unsurprisingly, as it was derived from the western liturgical books brought to Jerusalem by the clergymen who accompanied the crusaders and it was meant to be practised by and for westeners. However, it does not reflect the use of any specific western diocese, rather, it presents a very interesting composite aspect. None of the extant manuscripts from the Holy Sepulchre was among those which arrived with the first crusaders from the West. For the very first years after the establishment of the Latins in Jerusalem, the liturgical service practised by the patriarch and the secular clergy of the Holy Sepulchre, as well as by other religious institutions, must have relied on the books they brought with them from the West. However, the inevitable loss of some of them due to the long journey and the military campaigns, together with the continuous need generated by the expansion of the ecclesiastical establishment, may soon have resulted in the surviving books being insufficient, therefore stimulating the need for more books. As we have a record attesting the presence of a *magister scholasticus* at the Holy Sepulchre by 1103, taking care of the preparation of the

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[4] For a list of studies on the early liturgy of Jerusalem, as well as on other eastern liturgies in Jerusalem see C. Renoux, 'Hierosolymitana. Aperçu bibliographique des publications depuis 1960', *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft*, 23 (1981), 1-30 (part one), 149-75 (part two); see also R. Zerfass, *Die Schriftlesung im Kathedraloffizium Jerusalems*, Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen, 48 (Münster, 1968).
A tenth-century psalter produced in a Latin writing centre in the East, probably in the monastery of St Catherine on Mount Sinai itself, was found in the 1950s among the Slavonic manuscripts of the monastery (Mount Sinai, St Catherine's, Slavonic ms. 5); it presents Visigothic, North-Italian, and oriental influence; see E. A. Lowe, 'An Unknown Latin Psalter on Mount Sinai', *Scriptorium*, 9 (1955), 177-99, pls 18-23; its unique calendar, with strong oriental influence and unknown African saints, has been edited by J. Gribomont, 'Le mystérieux calendrier latin du Sinai. Édition et commentaire', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 75 (1957), 105-34; it shows no connection to any western church. Two more liturgical fragments were subsequently discovered at the monastery, both used as endleaves for twelfth-century Greek and Arabic manuscripts: the first is a fragment of a tenth-century Latin antiphonary (Mount Sinai, St Catharine's, Greek ms. 567, ff. 1-6, 214-19), the second of a ninth/tenth-century Latin epistolary (Mount Sinai, St Catharine's, Arabic Ms. 455, f. 1 and 4); see E. A. Lowe, 'Two Other Unknown Latin Liturgical Fragments on Mount Sinai', *Scriptorium*, 19 (1965), 3-29, pls 1-5.

clergy[5], there must have been some form of book production as well, even if probably not of the high standard reached in later and more settled years[6].

The earliest extant manuscripts, written in Jerusalem in the 1130s, show that, by this date, a codified liturgical use had been organised in the typical form which was to be practised for centuries.

This introduces us to the heart of the problem: when was the liturgy organised in the form which is still preserved by the extant manuscripts and by whom? Do the extant manuscripts reflect the liturgy which was practised from the arrival of the Latins in Jerusalem, or do they witness the final stage of a gradual process?

As Dom Petit points out[7], the regular canons of the Holy Sepulchre developed for themselves a liturgy of their own. They could not, because of the language barrier, and anyway would not, adopt the local liturgy practised by the Greek Orthodox patriarch and canons. Although the Orthodox christians were full members of the Catholic communion, the crusaders did not accept that an Orthodox bishop could exercise spiritual authority over the Latins, who had arrived in Jerusalem as conquerors[8]. However, while the contents of a new liturgical use are generally selected by a religious community in such a way as to best reflect its spirituality, the options available to the first canons of the Holy Sepulchre were limited by the survival of their books. Nonetheless a selection among the available sources was made, and this process reflected the political influence of some of the specific figures of the church of the Holy Sepulchre. Who these figures were can be inferred from an analysis of the composite aspect of the liturgical manuscripts themselves.

This composite aspect can be immediately found in the early calendar of the Holy Sepulchre. By 1128-30, the date of the earliest calendar, Ang477, it already presents its final characteristics: an Augustinian calendar with a French base. The introduction, into the calendar and sanctoral of the Holy Sepulchre, of the Jerusalem

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[5] de Rozière no. 36 and Hamilton 134.

[6] Buchthal calculates, on the basis of extant illuminated manuscripts, that a *scriptorium* must have been operating in the Holy Sepulchre by 1130 (Buchthal xxx); this date should refer, I believe, to the development of the atelier which, in those years, produced the earliest extant illuminated manuscripts.

[7] See Introduction p. 30 n. 38.

[8] Hamilton 19.

feasts[9] represents the only attention to the local liturgical environment, in an otherwise altogether western liturgical use. It should be noted, however, that the French component, while predominant, does not reflect the sanctoral of any specific French diocese, but rather includes French saints who were venerated on a regional level throughout the French territory. If, on the one hand, this aspect of the calendar makes it rather difficult to utilise it for the identification of the western sources adopted for the use of the Holy Sepulchre, it emphasizes, on the other hand, an interesting attitude: a decision by this new ecclesiastical establishment in the Holy Land that they were to set up the use of the new Church of Jerusalem; Latin, but not a subsidiary of any of the dioceses they came from. However, an analysis of the chant repertoire preserved in the extant manuscripts makes it possible to identify three main western sources adopted within the use of the Holy Sepulchre. In addition a fourth source can be identified as having been incorporated into the established tradition at a later stage.

The analysis on the temporal conducted in Chapter 4 shows that the office for the four Sundays of Advent, and in particular that for the first two Sundays, which presents original features, corresponds to that practised within the Norman diocese of Évreux[10]. The series of Alleluia verses sung during the 23 Sundays after the octave of Pentecost also appears to have been modelled, with little variation, on the use practised within the diocese of Évreux. By the 1150s-1160s, however, this series

[9] For which at first the office was taken from the common of saints, and subsequently proper offices were created, but modelled on standard western practice.

[10] On the liturgy of Évreux see L. Delisle, *Notes sur quelques manuscrits du musée britannique* (Paris, 1878; Extrait du t. IV des *Mémoires de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France*, pp. 183-238), 41-2 no. xiii: a 13th c. missal of Évreux used in the 17th c. by the Collegiate church of Vernon (= London, BL, Add. 26655); *Les anciens livres liturgiques du diocèse d'Évreux*, ed. A. A. Porée (Evreux, 1904); A. M. E. Deville, *Notices sur quelques manuscrits normands conservés à la bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève* (Évreux, 1904-6; Extrait de la *Revue catholique de Normandie*, xiii-xv), VII: Manuscrits ébroïciens; *Ancien coutumier de la cathédrale d'Évreux*, ed. F. M. A. Blanquart (Rouen, 1906); J. B. Mesnel, *Les saints du diocèse d'Évreux* (Évreux, 1914-18); R. Delamare, *Le calendrier de l'Église d'Évreux*, Bibliothèque liturgique, 21 (Paris, 1919); *Ordo servicii de l'insigne cathédrale d'Évreux*, ed. R. Delamare, 2 vols (Paris, 1924), in the introduction Dom Aubourg describes the genesis and the history of this *ordo*.

was partially modified with the introduction of elements deriving from a different Norman tradition, examples of which can be found in Norman Sicily as well as in Norman England. The office for the *Triduum Sacrum*, as well as that for the dedication of the church, represents instead the use of Chartres. In the sanctoral, the office of the dead corresponds to that of Bayeux[11], and more specifically to the office of Bayeux before 1204, the date of the French conquest of Normandy. Finally, the office for All Saints day appears to be identical to that practised in the Norman diocese of Sées[12] and in the diocese of York.

While the composite aspect of this selection is self-evident, it cannot be ascribed solely to a random juxtaposition of liturgical pieces extracted from manuscripts which eventually found their way to Jerusalem. Certainly, the choice must have been limited to the manuscripts circulating in Jerusalem. However I believe that some of these features reflect a conscious selection made by the compilers of the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre.

Information on the process of compilation of the liturgy can be gathered from the rubrics of the manuscripts, and in particular from the opening of the breviaries and ordinals, which states:

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[11] On the liturgy of Bayeux see J. Laffetay, *Essai historique sur l'antiquité de la foi dans le diocèse de Bayeux et le culte de quelques saints récemment introduits dans le calendrier liturgique de ce diocèse* (Caen, 1861); E. Deslandes's introduction to the manuscripts of the Chapter library of Bayeux in *Catalogue général des manuscrits des Bibliothèques publiques de France. X, Départments* (Paris, 1889), 271-93; *Inventaire des manuscrits de la cathédrale de Bayeux*, ed. E. Deslandes (Paris, 1889); E. Deslandes, *Le trésor de l'église de Notre-Dame de Bayeux* (Paris, 1896); M. J. Masselin, *Observations sur le plain-chant du diocèse de Bayeux* (Caen, 1897); M. J. Masselin, *Le diocèse de Bayeux. Étude historique* (Caen, 1898); a 13th c. ordinal of Bayeux (Bayeux, Bibliothèque du Chapitre, ms. 121) has been edited by U. Chevalier, *Ordinaire et Coutumier de l'église cathédral de Bayeux (XIIIᵉ siècle)*, Bibliothèque Liturgique, 8 (Paris, 1902); E. Deslandes, *Étude sur l'Église de Bayeux* (Caen, 1917).

[12] On the liturgy of Sées see M. d'Orville, *Recherches historique sur la ville, les évêques et la diocèse de Sées* (Sées, 1829); A. Blin, *Vie des saints du diocèse de Séez et histoire de leur culte* (Laigle, 1873); H. Marais and H. Beaudoin, *Essai historique sur la cathédrale et le chapitre de Sées* (Alençon, 1878); A. Blin, *Ordinal de l'abbaye de Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives* (Paris, 1887), this ordinal, dated 1285, was used by the chapter of Sées; *Catalogue des manuscrits et des livres préséntes à l'exposition bibliographique de Sées* (Sées, 1889).

'Incipit breviarium adbreviatum idest quoddam excerptum de pluribus libris secundum antiquam consuetudinem institutionum ecclesie dominici Sepulcri, partim secundum novam [consuetudinem] legendi et canendi in eadem ecclesia sicuti patres antiqui et priores predicte ecclesie, valde probabiles viri communi assensu, parique voto et bona discretione simpliciter ordinaverunt ac nullo contradicente firmiter tenere et habere pariter decreverunt. Si autem aliquid hic de predictis consuetudinibus quod scriptum non sit defuerit in fine libri huius queratur'[13].

The text therefore shows that the breviary was originally compiled by the canons of the Holy Sepulchre from a selection of different books, and that the old custom of reading and singing was in some of its parts eventually revised according to a collegiate decision of the priors of the Holy Sepulchre. What was the original custom, which parts of it have been changed, by whom and when?

I believe that the utilisation of liturgical material from Évreux and Bayeux is directly related to the important role of Arnulf of Cocques, chaplain of Robert duke of Normandy, first unratified patriarch of Jerusalem, and later third canonical patriarch (1112-1118). The picture of Arnulf given by some of the contemporary sources is to say the least controversial, if not in many cases rather negative. However we can now undoubtedly recognize that he was one of the most influential figures in the shaping of the Latin East's ecclesiastical structure in the nearly two decades after the establishment of the kingdom of Jerusalem[14].

Arnulf was born around 1055 in Cocques, Flanders, within the diocese of Therouanne[15], very likely the son of a priest[16]. He was sent very early to Normandy

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[13] Vat659 f. 26ᵛ.

[14] On Arnulf's life and career see *DHGE* IV 619-21 and C.W. David, *Robert Curthose Duke of Normandy* (Cambridge, Mass., London, and Oxford, 1920), 217-220.

[15] As it is mentioned in *Versus de viris illustribus diocesis Tarvanensis qui in sacra fuere expeditione*: 'Primus Evremarus sedit patriarcha Sepulchri; | Post nunc Arnulfus: oriundus uterque Cyokes. | Praefuit et templo, tuus archidiaconus ante | Vir probus et sapiens et religiosus Achardus...' ed. C. Moeller, 'Les Flamands du Ternois au royaume latin de Jérusalem', in *Mélanges Paul Fredericq* (Brussels, 1904), 189-202, at 191. The first mentioned is Evremar of Cocques, second patriarch

where he entered St Stephen of Caen, either as an oblate to the newly founded abbey, soon after 1063, or following Lanfranc from Bec to Caen in 1063, together with others of his most gifted pupils. Lanfranc was abbot of St Stephen between 1063 and 1070, when he became archbishop of Canterbury. His successor was William Bonne-Ame[17], a canon and archdeacon of Rouen who had entered St Stephen after a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. William was abbot until 1079, when he was made archbishop of Rouen. In Caen Arnulf was taught by Lanfranc and William Bonne-Ame until around 1070-75 and his excellent education is a point all sources agree and recognise[18].

Sally Vaughn, in her re-evaluation of the school of Bec, its students and curriculum, points out that of the students who went on to ecclesiastical careers between 1042 and 1170, ninety of them became high church officials, ranging from abbots to popes[19]. Another thirty students became historical writers concerned with custom as

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of Jerusalem (1102-8); the third, Achardus of Arrouaise, was prior of Templum domini (c.1112-c.1136); see Kohler 434 n. 5 and Hamilton 134.

[16] Guibert of Nogent 292 (§ 7, 675-9): `Discusso nimirum hominis genere sacerdotis filius repperitur, qui non solum a sacris arceri precipitur gradibus, sed secundum Toletanae synodi scita eius aecclesiae, ad cuius iniuriam constat esse progenitus, servus iubetur fieri sempiternus'; Raymond of Aguilers in *RHC Occ* III 231-309, at 302; WT I 421 (§ 9, 1).

[17] D. Spear, `William Bona Anima, Abbot of St Stephen's of Caen, 1070-1079', *The Haskins Society Journal in Medieval Studies*, 1 (1989), 51-60.

[18] Guibert of Nogent 290 (§ 7, 637-41): `Erat ibi tunc temporis quidam sub censura clericali agens, sub quo autem gradu nescio, qui vocaretur Arnulfus. Is, in dialecticae eruditione non hebes, quum minime haberetur ad grammaticae documenta rudis, regis Anglorum filiam monacham eaquam premisimus diu disciplina docuerat'; Ralph of Caen, in the preface of his work dedicated to Arnulf, his old master, says: `nullius etenim liberalis scientiae te cognovimus exsortem' (*RHC Occ* III 587-716, at 604); *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. R. M. T. Hill (London, 1962), 479-80: `Similiter elegerunt patriarcham quendam sapientissimum et honorabilem virum, nomine Arnulfum'; Raymond of Aguilers in *RHC Occ* III 231-309, at 281: `quia litteratus erat, credebant ei multi'; Albert of Aix in *RHC Occ* IV 265-713, at 470: `Arnolfus de Zokes castello Flandriae, clericus magnae scientiae et facundiae'; *Ekkehardi Uraugiensis abbatis Hierosolymita*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Tübingen, 1877), 264: `iussuque regis Arnoldus, quidam venerabilis et bene literatus clericus'.

[19] S. N. Vaughn, `Lanfranc, Anselm, and the School of Bec: In Search of the Students of Bec', in *The Culture of Christendom. Essays in Medieval History in Commemoration of Denis L. T. Bethell*, ed. M. A. Meyer (London and Rio Grande,

law[20]. Moreover, another considerable portion of Lanfranc's students were noble laymen, possibly the sons of the earliest donors to Bec, who went on to occupy prominent positions in Normandy and in England[21]. If the Bec school was clearly remarkable in its administrative and legal training, we may expect that not too dissimilar results would probably surface from a similar study on St Stephen of Caen, where Lanfranc moved to in 1063 and where a school was also established. Arnulf in fact appears as a teacher at St Stephen ~~under~~ William's abbacy[22], and his *during* skills in dialectic acquired such recognition that he was chosen by William the Conqueror to educate in grammar and dialectic his daughter Cecilia, nun at La Trinité of Caen, around 1070-75[23]. Cecilia, who later became the second abbess of her mother's great foundation, is remembered for her learning as well as for her piety[24]. Another of Arnulf's pupils at Caen was Ralph of Caen, the author of the *Gesta Tancredi*, dedicated to Arnulf[25].

Arnulf is also known to have been close to Odo of Conteville, bishop of Bayeux (1049-1097)[26], half-brother of William the Conqueror and Robert and Cecilia's uncle. It is therefore very likely that it was through Cecilia, who is said to have obtained from her brother, duke Robert, a promise of the first vacant Norman

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Oh., 1993), 155-81, at 155 and 176-9.
[20] *ibid.* 169 and 180-1.
[21] *ibid.* 169-175.
[22] R. Foreville, `L'école de Caen au XIe siècle et les origines normandes de l'université d'Oxford', in *Études médiévales offerts à M. le doyen Augustin Fliche*, Publication de la Faculté des Lettrés de l'Université de Montpellier, 4 (Montpellier, 1952), 81-100, at 83ss ; É. Lesne, *Histoire de la propriété ecclésiastique en France. V. Les écoles de la fin du VIIIe siècle a la fin du XIIe* (Lille, 1940), 114 and 119.
[23] Cecilia entered the newly founded nunnery as a child, under the tutorship of the abbess Matildhe, in 1066, when she must have been 4 or 5 years old.
[24] See for example Guibert of Nogent, above note 18; Ordericus Vitalis, without mentioning any particular teacher, also remarks upon Cecilia's unusual education; see Ordericus Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. M. Chibnall, 6 vols (Oxford, 1969-80), II 303: `Quae cum grandi diligentia in coenobio Cadomensi educata est et multipliciter erudita'.
[25] Ralph of Caen in *RHC Occ* III 587-716, at 604: `Praesertim mellita mihi erit quaecumque erit correctio tua, si, quem sortitus sum praeceptorem puer iuvenem, nunc quoque correctorem te impetravero vir senem'.
[26] *Les évêques normands*, 24-5, 226-7 and 251-2; D. Bates, `The Character and career of Odo, Bishop of Bayeux (1049/50-1097)', *Speculum*, 50 (1975), 1-20.

bishopric for Arnulf[27], or through Odo's influence that Arnulf entered the service of the duke as chaplain[28]. His official connection with the ducal court undoubtedly began at least in 1094, for the contemporary biographer of abbot William of Bec states that on, or very shortly after, 10th of August 1094 Arnulf went on an important official errand for the duke in the capacity of 'chancellor'[29]. In a charter dated 15th of August 1095 issued by duke Robert in favour of Rouen cathedral, 'Ernulfus de Cioches capellanus meus' appears among the witnesses[30].

Odo had attended the Council of Clermont in 1095[31], and in 1096 he had travelled around Normandy, presumably to preach the Crusade, with the papal legate, abbot Gerento of St Bénigne of Dijon[32]. At the time of departure for the Holy land, Arnulf was travelling with Odo and Gilbert II fitz Osbern, count of Breteuil and bishop of Évreux (1071-1112)[33], who had also attended the Council of Clermont the previous year. They all left for Jerusalem in the expedition of duke Robert. According to the chronicle of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif of Sens[34], on their way to Jerusalem Robert and

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[27] Guibert of Nogent 290-1 (§ 7, 641-44): 'cui Northmannorum comes mediante sorore spoponderat quod etiam episcopalem honorem ipsi deferret, si quempiam episcoporum suorum obisse contingeret'.

[28] Arnulf was certainly not among the clergy of Rouen. He does not appear in David Spear's survey of clergymen of the cathedral of Rouen during the ducal period for which see D. Spear, 'Les doyens du chapitre cathédral de Rouen durant le période ducale', Annales de Normandie, 33 (1983), 91-119; 'Les archidiacres de Rouen', Annales de Normandie, 34 (1984), 15-50; 'Les dignitaires de la cathédrale de Rouen pendant la période ducale', Annales de Normandie, 37 (1987), 121-48; 'Les chanoines de la cathédrale de Rouen pendant la période ducale', Annales de Normandie, 41 (1991), 135-75.

[29] M. Crispin, Vita venerabilis Willelmi Beccensis Tertii Abbatis, in PL CL, col 718.

[30] C. H. Haskins, Norman Institutions, Harvard Historical Studies, 24 (Cambridge, Mass., London, and Oxford, 1918), 70 no. 31; 74 no. 28.

[31] Ordericus Vitalis III 470.

[32] Bates, The character, 18.

[33] Les évêques normands, 29 and 233-4.

[34] Chronicon Sancti-Petri-Vivi Senonensis, in Bibliothèque historique de l'Yonne, ed. L. M. Duru, 2 vols (Auxerre and Paris, 1850-63), II 449-597, at 535-6: 'Referens quia cum esset capellanus comitis Stephani ultramare secum ivit, sed antequam transirent, a summo pontifice Romanae ecclesiae inter se et Dominum Arnulfum, qui nunc patriarcha videtur, licentiam ligandi atque solvendi accepit'; see also J. Richard, 'Quelques textes sur les premiers temps de l'église latine de Jérusalem', in Recueil de travaux offerts à M. Clovis Brunel, 2 vols, Mémoires et documents publiés par la société de l'école des chartes, 12 (Paris, 1955), II 420-30.

Stephen of Blois met Urban II in Lucca and there they received Urban's blessing on about 25th of October 1096; on this occasion the chaplains of the two leaders, Arnulf and Alexander, obtained the *licentia ligandi et solvendi*, that is they were made ancillary legates. In February 1097 Odo of Bayeux died in Palermo, leaving all of his movable wealth to Arnulf[35]. Gilbert, bishop of Évreux, after presiding at the funeral went back to Normandy[36]. Arnulf's position was further strengthened in 1098 when the legate, Adhémar of Le Puy, died. Ralph of Caen reports that the dying Adhémar invited the crusaders to obey Arnulf, who, by that time, was probably the only clergyman left invested with legatine powers[37]. It was Arnulf who was asked to judge the authenticity of the visions of Peter Bartholomew (3rd of April 1099)[38] and, during the siege of Jerusalem, he had preached to the crusaders on procession to the Mount of Olives (7th of June 1099)[39]. *Licentia legandi et solvendi* and preaching to the crusaders were powers normally devolved by the pope to the legates accompanying the crusades. The crusaders entered Jerusalem on 15th of July and seven days later Godfrey was elected to govern the newly acquired territories[40].

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[35] Guibert of Nogent 291 (§ 7, 656-60): 'Cuius Arnulfus idem comitatui sese indidit, et cum huic ipsi episcopo citra, nisi fallor, Romaniae fines finis obtigisset, ex illo maximo censu, quem post se reliquerat, hunc legatarium pene ante omnes suppellectilis suae preciosae effecit'; Bates, *The Character*, 20.

[36] *Les évêques normands*, 29; he died in 1112 and was buried in the cathedral he had founded in Évreux.

[37] Ralph of Caen in *RHC Occ* III 673 and Richard 423. As Richard points out, even if the fact is not correct it attests the authority exercised by Arnulf from that moment.

[38] Raymond of Aguilers in *RHC Occ* III 279. On the discovery of the relic of the Holy Lance during the siege of Antioch by Peter Bartholomew see C. Morris, 'Policy and Visions: The Case of the Holy Lance at Antioch', in *War and Government in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honour of J. O. Prestwich*, ed. J. Gillingham and J. C. Holt (Woodbridge, 1984), 33-45; W. Giese, 'Die *lancea domini* von Antiochia (1098/99)', in *Fälschungen im Mittelalter. Internationaler Kongress der Monumenta Germaniae Historica, München, 16.-19. September 1986*, 6 vols, Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 33 (Hannover, 1988-90), V 485-504.

[39] Albert of Aix in *RHC Occ* IV 470.

[40] J. C. Andresshon, *The Ancestry and Life of Godfrey of Bouillon*, Indiana University Publications, Social Science Series, 5 (Bloomington, Ind., 1947), 106; J. Riley-Smith, 'The title of Godfrey of Bouillon', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical*

On the ecclesiastical front, the see of Jerusalem was vacant. The Orthodox patriarch, Symeon II, who was living in Cyprus together with the canons of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, died at about the time that Jerusalem was captured. In the absence of a canonical body of electors, the senior clergy gathered together on 1st of August to choose a Latin patriarch from among themselves.

Of the almost thirty archbishops and bishops known to have taken the cross during the first crusade[41], apparently the only one who had come on crusade and survived to take part in the siege of Jerusalem was Arnulf, bishop of Martirano in Calabria, Southern Italy, whom Ralph of Caen described as scarcely more learned than the uneducated mass of the people and all but technically illiterate[42]. It is therefore unsurprising that Arnulf of Cocques was made patriarch-elect pending papal ratification. As shown above, despite not being a bishop, he embodied all the qualities needed at such a key moment: a learned man, a popular figure among the crusaders, possessing legatine powers and, most importantly, close to the most influential party arrived in Jerusalem[43]. In this context and as he was very likely a

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Research, 52 (1979), 83-6.

[41] From the list of people who took the cross during the first crusade, a work in progress compiled by Jonathan Riley Smith, can be extrapolated references to clergymen of various rank. The material, extracted from all the narrative sources and from many of the cartularies and other collections of documents, relies on the evidence for taking of the cross, not actual participation, although most of those referred to did join one or another of the armies; see Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, 196-246.

[42] Ralph of Caen in *RHC Occ* III 587-716, at 683. Arnulf is not listed in Gams, where there appears to be a gap between the death of bishop Ridulphus in 1090 and the election of bishop Michael in 1170; Gams 894-5. He is only mentioned as being part of Bohemond's army in R. Manselli, *Italia e italiani alla prima crociata*, Storia, 13 (Rome, 1983), 54.
The other bishop who apparently made it to Jerusalem, Bonfilius, O.S.B., bishop of Foligno (1078-1099), having left Foligno in 1094, returned to Italy in 1099 and after resigning his bishopric he retired to the monastery of S. Maria della Fara, where he died in 1115; see Gams 696.

[43] While his election had been opposed by the Provençal clergy, even Raymond of Aguilers had to recognise that it had been welcomed by the population with hymns, chants, and great applause; see Raymond of Aguilers in *RHC Occ* III 281: `[Arnulph] capellanum comitis Normanniae, qui quasi caput omnium incredulorum erat...quia litteratus erat, credebant ei multi' and III 302: `Eo tempore Arnulphus, capellanus Normanniae comitis, a quibusdam in patriarcham eligitur,

Norman himself, it is not surprising to find that the bishop of Martirano gave his full support to Arnulf[44]. Raymond of Aguilers and William of Tyre actually report that as the bishop of Martirano wished to obtain for himself the church of St Mary in Bethlehem, he supported the election of Arnulf to the patriarchate of Jerusalem to make sure he achieved his ambition[45]. The discovery in Jerusalem of the relic of the True Cross soon after his election, and very likely under the new patriarch's initiative, could be represented, as Murray points out, 'as a sign of divine legitimation far more significant than the approbation of part of the crusading army'[46]. However, Arnulf's election was not ratified by the new papal legate appointed by Urban II just before his death, Daimbert, archbishop of Pisa[47], who, arriving in Jerusalem with the Pisan fleet in September 1099, was himself chosen to fill the place in December 1099, but deposed in September 1101 in favour of Evremar (1102-1108).

Evremar, like Arnulf from Cocques, appointed Arnulf archdeacon of the Holy Sepulchre. We know in fact from the chronicle of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif that while Stephen of Blois had left the crusade, Alexander, his chaplain, eventually arrived in Jerusalem three years after Arnulf, during Easter of 1102, and found that Arnulf had become the *scrinarius* of king Baldwin[48]. This corresponds to what is said by Albert

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contradicentibus bonis,...atque se cum hymnis et canticis in sede patriarchali, magno populorum plausu, elevari fecit'.

[44] Raymond of Aguilers in *RHC Occ* III 231-309, at 301-2; WT I 421-2 (§ 9,1,25-43).

[45] Arnulf of Martirano's claim was unsuccessful; he probably died shortly after as he is not mentioned in any of the sources after 1099; see J. G. Rowe, 'Paschal II and the Relation Between the Spiritual and Temporal Powers in the Kingdom of Jerusalem', *Speculum*, 32 (1957), 470-501, at 470-3; see also G. A. Loud, 'Norman Italy and the Holy Land', in *The Horns of Hattin. Proceedings of the Second Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East, Jerusalem and Haifa 2-6 July 1987*, ed. B. Z. Kedar (Jerusalem, 1992), 49-62, at 49 repr. in G. A. Loud, *Conquerors and Churchmen in Norman Italy* (Aldershot, 1999), XIV.

[46] A. V. Murray, '"Mighty Against the Enemies of Christ": The Relic of the True Cross in the Armies of the Kingdom of Jerusalem', in *The Crusades and Their Sources. Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton*, ed. J. France and W. G. Zajac (Aldershot, 1998), 217-38, at 221.

[47] On the papal legate and first canonical patriarch of Jerusalem see M. Matzke, *Daibert von Pisa*, Vorträge und Forschungen, 44 (Sigmaringen, 1998).

[48] *Chronicon Sancti-Petri-Vivi Senonensis*, in *Bibliothèque historique de l'Yonne*, ed.

of Aix, that Arnulf was 'clericum mirae prudentiae et facundiae, cancellarium sanctae ecclesiae Iherusalem, procuratorem sanctarum reliquiarum et custodem elemosynarum fidelium'[49].

In the following years Arnulf therefore played a major role in the ecclesiastical configuration of Jerusalem; it was in fact at his suggestion that in 1112 Gibelin, patriarch of Jerusalem (1108-1112), on his death-bed, asked king Baldwin to oblige the canons of the Holy Sepulchre to establish communal meals according to the custom of the churches of Lyon and Reims[50]. William of Tyre states that in 1110 king Baldwin, wishing to elevate Bethlehem into a bishopric, had sent Arnulf, at that time archdeacon of the Holy Sepulchre, together with Achardus, very likely the same Achardus prior of Templum Domini from c.1112, to Rome to discuss the matter with Paschal II[51]. It is very likely, I believe, that already on this occasion the reform of the canons of the Holy Sepulchre was discussed, hence Arnulf's suggestion to Gibelin in 1112 and, eventually, his reform of the chapter in 1114[52] once he had been elected as Gibelin's successor[53]. The reform of the chapter has probably to be seen as the counterpart to Paschal II's approval of Arnulf's election. The fact that Arnulf was very likely the son of a priest was held against him at the time of his official election to the patriarchate of Jerusalem, and it required the

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L. M. Duru, 2 vols (Auxerre and Paris, 1850-63), II 449-597, at 536: 'Audiens hoc, rex vocavit Arnulfum scrinarium suum...'

[49] Albert of Aix in *RHC Occ* IV 489 and see J. Richard, 'Quelques textes sur les premiers temps de l'église latine de Jérusalem', in *Recueil de travaux offerts à M. Clovis Brunel*, 2 vols, Mémoires et documents publiés par la société de l'école des chartes, 12 (Paris, 1955), II 420-30, at 421; in 1100 he was 'prelatus Templi domini' Albert of Aix in *RHC Occ* IV 526. He is first named as 'cancellarius et archidiaconus dominici Sepulchri' in 1102 at the Council which elected Evremar, *ibid.* IV 599; see Hamilton 56 n. 4.

[50] Röhricht no. 63; Bresc-Bautier no. 25: 'ut eis per obedientiam firmiter preciperem quatinus insimul comederent secundum bonarum aecclesiarum specialius Lugdunensis vel Remensis consuetudinem'. The mention of Reims, probably the first centre of the reform, reformed in 975, is probably a generic reference to a reformed 'canonical' church; see Dereine 366.

[51] WT I 512-13 (§ 11,12,37-41); see *DHGE* IV 619-21, at 620.

[52] Bresc-Bautier no. 20. Their institution was recognised by Calixtus II in 1122.

[53] Hamilton 61-4; about Arnulf recovering his see, see also J. G. Rowe, 'Paschal II and the Relation Between the spiritual and Temporal Powers in the Kingdom of Jerusalem', *Speculum*, 32 (1957), 470-501, at 497-500.

'apostolic dispensation' of Paschal II in 1117 in view of Arnulf's great services and of the needs of the church[54].

Among the clergy of Jerusalem, he was surely the man who, from the very beginning, had proven to be the most energetic and influential, ecclesiastically, as well as politically. Arnulf should certainly be numbered among the remarkable characters who, trained by the best teachers of the Norman schools, went on to shape the ecclesiastical and political history of Normandy, England, and the Holy Land. His low birth has probably to be taken as the principal cause for the delay in the flourishing of his career, which came to the fire in the new Latin kingdom of the East rather than in the Anglo-Norman centre. The evidence now derived from the analysis of the early liturgical books of the Holy Sepulchre also proves that he was the driving influence behind the development of the liturgical practice of Jerusalem. The Évreux and Bayeux component in the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre was derived from the manuscripts which Arnulf had with him in Jerusalem, partly doubtless bequeathed to him by Odo of Bayeux in Palermo, and partly, I believe, donated to him by Gilbert of Évreux in Palermo before he made his way home. Liturgical manuscripts from Bayeux and Évreux were therefore among those used in the church of the Holy Sepulchre from the very beginning, and it is from these books that the old custom of the canons of the Holy Sepulchre was put together.

In addition to these sources introduced by Arnulf, it is also possible to detect, by a liturgical analysis of the manuscripts, a Chartres component which, I believe, can be traced to a known character, Fulcher of Chartres. His name is normally associated with his activity as an historian, but his contribution to the ecclesiastical organisation of the early church of the Holy Sepulchre should now also be recognised.

Fulcher had been a member of the clergy of the cathedral of Chartres. He was trained as a priest, but it does not seem that he occupied any position within the chapter. He attended the Council of Clermont with Ivo of Chartres, the reformer of

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[54] *PL* CLXIII, 409: 'Porro personae ipsius utilitas ab initio expeditionis Jerosolymitanae quanta penes vos fuerit et quanta sit, non solum nos, sed universus pene agnoscit'; de Rozière no. 11; Bresc-Bautier no. 91; Hamilton 13; his low birth was very likely one of the reasons why his first election to the patriarchate by the senior clergy of Jerusalem, in 1099, had not been ratified by Daimbert of Pisa, legate

the Church of Chartres, and his spiritual father. He then took the cross as a chaplain to count Stephen of Blois-Chartres, therefore making his journey to Jerusalem with Arnulf. When Stephen returned to Europe in 109?, Fulcher became the chaplain of Baldwin I of Boulogne, brother of Godfrey of Bouillon and count of Edessa. That meant that, after a brief stay in Edessa, Fulcher moved to Jerusalem in 1100, when Baldwin was appointed new king of the city. In the Jerusalem royal palace, Fulcher worked on the composition of his *Historia Hierosolymitana*[55]. According to Epp, in around 1114 he became a canon of the Holy Sepulchre, probably even occupying the position of *thesaurarius*[56]. As noted earlier, the canons of the Holy Sepulchre were reformed in 1114 and it is highly probable that in the enforcement of regular life Arnulf would have had the support of Fulcher of Chartres, himself the pupil of one of the great reformers of the French church[57].

If, as we have seen, the liturgical uses of Bayeux and Évreux were constituent parts of the old custom of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, and if we give full value to the rubrics of the ordinals of the Holy Sepulchre which suggest that the old custom of reading and singing was in some of its parts eventually revised according to a collegiate decision, I would suggest that the Chartres component has to be seen as a more recent introduction into the custom of the canons of the Holy Sepulchre. Moreover, I would date such modification of the custom to around 1114, as it is in this year that the reform of the chapter took place and it is by this date that Fulcher is actively involved as a canon of the Holy Sepulchre. This receives confirmation from William of Tyre who refers, to Arnulf's dishonour, that 'ordinem, quem primi principes studiose et cum multa deliberatione in ecclesia Ierosolimitana instituerant, regulares canonicos introducendo, commutarit'[58].

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of Urban II.

[55] Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana* (1095-1127), ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913).

[56] Epp, *Fulcher*, 27.

[57] And also that of Achardus, from the Augustinian community of Arrouaise (diocese of Arras), who had gone to Rome with Arnulf in 1110, see above note 50, and who was nominated prior of Templum Domini in c.1112, very likely under Arnulf's influence.

[58] WT I 519 (§ 11,15,14-17).

It is also possible that the Chartres element was introduced by Fulcher from the very beginning into the liturgy of the Sepulchre, as he was in Jerusalem by 1100, but it seems more plausible to date his liturgical involvement to the time when he was actually a full member of the canonical body of the Holy Sepulchre.

The Chartres derivation might also be connected with the patriarchate of Stephen of La Ferté (1128-30). A member of the family of the vidames of Chartres, he had been the abbot of the reformed canons of St Jean-en-Vallée, Chartres[59]. However, as William of Tyre specifically refers to a modification of the liturgical use at the time of the transition of the canons into regular life, and as that time coincides with Fulcher joining the canons of the Holy Sepulchre, I am more in favour of my earlier dating of the incorporation of the Chartres component into the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre rather than attributing it to the role of Stephen of La Ferté.

Lastly, the office for All Saints presents a series of responsories which, while it differs from the use of Évreux in only one responsory, is identical to the use practised in Sées[60] and in York. It also differs from the use of Hereford and Paris in only one responsory. It would be easy to consider the use of the Holy Sepulchre for this office as a Jerusalem variant of the use of Évreux, which as we have seen was adopted for other offices, and whose introduction has been historically explained. As far as Paris is concerned, it should be noted that from 1112 to 1138 the *cantor* of the church of the Holy Sepulchre was Ansellus or Anselmus de Turre[61], who had

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[59] St Jean-en-Vallée, originally a collegiate church served by secular canons, received, at the time of its foundation in the eleventh century, the liturgy of the cathedral of Chartres; see Delaporte 220. During Yvo's bishopric (1090-1115) and under his instigation, the clerics of the church of St Jean-en-Vallée constituted themselves into a community of Regular Canons, in 1099 or 1100; see R. Merlet, *Cartulaire de Saint-Jean-en-Vallée de Chartres*, Collection de cartulaires Chartrains, 1 (Chartres, 1906), xxvi and 2-3 no. 3; Delaporte 11; Dereine 385: [Yvus]: 'In praetaxata Sancti Joannis ecclesia canonicos tales esse decrevi qui, proprietate posthabita, canonicam habeant vitam, juxta beati Augustini institutionem...' (*PL* CLXII, c. 294).

[60] For an account of the episcopal city of Sées from the sixth to the fifteenth century see F. Neveux, 'La Ville de Sées du Haut Moyen Age a l'Epoque Ducale', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 17 (1994), 145-63.

[61] He first appears as *cantor* in a document related to the consecration of Arnulf to the patriarchate, Röhricht no. 68, and he is mentioned among the canons of the Holy Sepulchre until 1138, de Rozière no. 33; according to the thirteenth-century obituary

previously been a member of the church of Notre Dame in Paris, as shown in the letter which accompanied the sending of relics to that church in 1120[62]. If, as it appears from his letter, Ansellus had arrived in Jerusalem in 1099 with the first wave of crusaders, and he occupied the position of *cantor* from 1112, he may well have been in a position to exercise considerable influence within the chapter of the Holy Sepulchre[63]. Therefore there would be a historical explanation for the possible incorporation of the use of Paris into that of the Holy Sepulchre.

However, the fact that the series of responsories of the Jerusalem office is identical with those of Sées and York, and also very close to that of Hereford, introduces two different problems. As far as Sées is concerned, there is at present a lack of historical evidence which could support the use of books from this diocese in Jerusalem. Assessing the potential influence exercised by books from York or Hereford, on the other hand, introduces the general problem of assessing the English contribution to the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre: we are unable to say whether we are confronted with an Anglo-Norman direct influence or with a Norman influence of the kind which had also been extended to England. Until the ecclesiastical and liturgical relationship between Normandy and the places which were to receive its influence,

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of Notre-Dame, where he asked in a letter to be remembered, he died on 5th of August, sometime after 1138; see A. Molinier, *Obituaires de la province de Sens. I. Diocèses de Sens et de Paris*, Recueils des historiens de la France. Obituaires, 1 (Paris, 1902), I,1 164: 'Obiit Ansellus, precentor Jerosolimitanus, qui dedit nobis pretiosissimam partem dominice crucis, cuius anniversarium debet fieri prima dominica augusti, quam in honore ejusdem crucis, tunc ad nos transmisse, sollempniter celebramus'.

[62] 'Cum ad ecclesia...in qua...nutritus et eruditus fui, jam per viginti quatuor annos, remotus sim corpore, tamen animo fervens in amore...ecclesiae vestrae vobiscum cohabito mente'; see *Gallia Christiana. VII Instrumenta Ecclesiae Parisiensis* (Paris, 1744), no. LIII, cols 44-5, repr. in *PL* CLXII, 729-32; see also 'Anselmi cantoris S. Sepulcri epistula ad canonicos ecclesiae Parisiensis de S. Cruce', registered in Röhricht no. 54 under the year 1108, but Bresc-Bautier has convincingly demonstrated that the letter was sent in 1120; see G. Bresc-Bautier, 'L'envoi de la relique de la vraie croix à Notre-Dame de Paris en 1120', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 129 (1971), 389-97.

[63] He was however bitterly against the canonical reform introduced by Arnulf to the church of the Holy Sepulchre. He was threaten of expulsion by Calixtus II in 1121, because, together with the *succentor*, kept leading a secular life, living in his own house in Jerusalem; see Röhricht no. 94; de Rozière no. 37; Bresc-Bautier no. 3.

England in particular, is carefully assessed, the English component within the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre will remain an unspecified quantity.

The office for All Saints is not the only case where we encounter a possibility of English influence. English saints appear in the calendar of **BL1139**, and we have seen how the series of post-Pentecost Alleluias were modified in **Vat659** to include verses which can be found in series from Norman Sicily and Norman England. Buchthal notices how the presence in Jerusalem of the Englishman William, prior of the church of the Holy Sepulchre in the first quarter of the twelfth century and archbishop of Tyre (*c.* 1127-35), has to be connected with the production of **BL1139** and, he suggests, with the foundation of the *scriptorium* attached to the church of the Holy Sepulchre. Buchthal believes William to be a monk, given the predominance of monastic institutions over canonical ones in England at the period. However, if there is one thing that stands out clearly from the liturgical data now available, it is that the English element in Jerusalem is not monastic, but canonical, and of the Anglo-Norman kind. Therefore the English contribution to the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre, if such a contribution did exist, would have to be seen as originating from among the Anglo-Norman bishoprics, who would also have been more receptive to the crusading cause so forcefully embraced by the Normans.

More certainty about the origin of the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre can only be reached with the advancement of the research in two directions: first, the discovery of new evidence concerning the clergy and laity who went to Jerusalem, extracted from contemporary European chronicles and cartularies on the basis of the work presently carried on by Jonathan Riley-Smith; secondly, the assessment, through comparative analysis of the extant liturgical sources, of the relationship between the different liturgical uses. For example, we have seen that when analysing the office for All Saints, we are confronted with data which clearly show a common link, but the precise nature of this link excapes us. Did Sées, part of the Norman province of Rouen, derive its office from Rouen or from Paris, with which it presents close similarities? Is there a liturgical relationship between York and Sées, or is the identity of their office a coincidence? And what is the liturgical relationship between York and Hereford? Only once these and similar questions are solved will we be

able to provide a definite answer with regard to the office adopted by the Holy Sepulchre.

Manuscripts from Jerusalem

1.1/2 Rome, Bibilioteca Angelica, ms. 477 and Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, McClean 49[64] (1128-30)

The earliest extant manuscript from the Holy Sepulchre, Ang477, was certainly written before 1149, as there is no mention of the dedication of the church of the Holy Sepulchre. The addition to the calendar of the *obit* for patriarch Warmund (1119-1128), and the presence in the litanies of S. Piat (1 Oct.), whose body is preserved in the cathedral of Chartres, suggests that the manuscript was probably written during the patriarchate of Warmund's successor, Stephen of La Ferté (1128-1130), who had previously been abbot of St Jean-en-Vallée, Chartres. Buchthal dates the manuscript to c.1140, following his belief that the *scriptorium* of the Holy Sepulchre had been founded by the Englishman William, prior of the Holy Sepulchre, in the second quarter of the twelfth century, before he became archbishop of Tyre in 1127. However, I would rather agree with the dating of Boase and Folda, who suggest on the ground of the obituary note of Warmund that the time of production should be moved back to c.1130[65].

The addition to the calendar of the two obituary notes for the patriarch and for Azo, a canon of the church of the Holy Sepulchre who died some time between 1129 and 1132, clearly suggests that the sacramentary was produced for the chapter of the Holy Sepulchre. The calendar records the saints of Jerusalem, as do the litanies inserted between the temporal and the Canon of the Mass (ff. 61^r-62^v) and followed by the petition for the patriarch. However, the sanctoral does not present the fully developed aspect of later manuscripts: the saints of Jerusalem still do not have proper masses; also, the feast of the *Liberatio Jerusalem* (15 July) is not placed

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[64] Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, McClean 49 contains the prefaces and the Canon (ff. 70^v-83^v) of the sacramentary in the Angelica library. These leaves were probably removed from the original manuscript some time in the nineteenth century.
[65] T. S. R. Boase, *Kingdoms and Strongholds of the Crusades* (London, 1971), 98; Folda, *The Art*, 100-4.

within the proper of saints, as in later missals and breviaries, but appears independently on f. 159^r. The feast for the patriarchs of Jerusalem Abraham Ysaac et Iacob (6 Oct.)[66], recorded in the calendar, again has no proper office in the sanctoral, but a special mass on f. 160^r. Unfortunately, this manuscript, being a sacramentary, does not contain the chant repertoire attached to the offices (found in ordinals, breviaries, and antiphonaries). We can only comment on the post-Pentecost Alleluia verses, definitely of the Évreux kind, but we cannot know whether at this stage the chant repertoire had already stabilised in its typical configuration, as described above.

1.3 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. lat. 12056 (1128-30)

BN12056 is another sacramentary which was clearly copied from Ang477, as is evident from both the illumination, as Buchthal notices, and from the text. In particular the addition, in BN12056, of a different *Postcommunio* for the *Missa in anniversario* (f. 328^v) to be read in place of the pre-existent one on f. 248^v, whose text can also be found in Ang477 (f. 158^v), is a further evidence that BN12056 was written after Ang477. The text, however, appears to be rather simplified. Ff. 9^r-63^r of BN12056 contain Gospel readings for the temporal, the sanctoral, the common of saints, and votive masses, added in a different, contemporary hand. The temporal, sanctoral, common of saints, and votive masses contain only the prayers, not the chant repertoire. In particular, there are no post-Pentecost Alleluia verses. The fact that this manuscript does not contain the parts generally sung by the choir may suggest that it was copied from the exemplar used by the canons of the Holy Sepulchre for a private owner, either a member of the royal family or a member of its household. Another paleographical feature of this manuscript indicates a connection with the royal family and a date in the last years of the kingdom of Baldwin II (1118-1131): it was written by an Armenian scribe, as is evident by the numbering of the gatherings, in Armenian numerals, as well as by the marked

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[66] In 1119 the canons of Hebron discovered under their church what they believed to be the bones of the patriarchs Abraham, Ysaac and Jacob; see P. Riant, 'Invention de la sépulture des patriarches', *Archives de l'Orient latin*, 2 (1884), 411-21, at 418; Hamilton 65-6.

angularity of the script, with strong vertical strokes, which, as Wormald points out, resembles Armenian writing itself[67]. Baldwin II's wife was the Armenian Morphia of Melitene († before 1129), whom he married in 1100 or 1101[68]. Therefore the presence of an Armenian scribe within the royal household of Jerusalem should be most likely related to the presence of Morphia in Jerusalem.

1.4 London, British Library, Egerton 1139 (1131-43)

The first manuscript from twelfth century Jerusalem from which we can gather that the chant repertoire was already established is **BL1139**, a psalter which, it has been convincingly argued by Buchthal and Wormald, was produced for queen Melisende († 1161) between 1131-43[69]. From the liturgical point of view, it shows how it conformed to the liturgical standards set by the church of the Holy Sepulchre. The calendar, in martyrological form with a certain number of English saints, includes only Symeon (18 Feb.), Quiriacus (4 May), the conquest of Jerusalem (15 July), and Zacheus (23 Aug.) of the Jerusalem feasts. The litanies also list only some of the Jerusalem saints, but they are followed by the petition for the patriarch. Most importantly, the office of the dead displays the use of Bayeux which, as we have seen, was to become typical of the Holy Sepulchre.

1.5 Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 659 (1153-7)

The last liturgical manuscript that can be attributed to the first kingdom of Jerusalem (before 1187) is also the most complete, liturgically, as it is an ordinal. **Vat659** contains the offices for the liturgical year, generally in abbreviated form, with *incipit* only, as well as extensive information relating to the ritual performance of the

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[67] See Wormald's paleographical notes in Appendix II of Buchthal 135 and S. Der Nersessian, *Manuscrits Arméniens illustrés* (Paris, 1937), pls vi, xii, xiii.

[68] B. Hamilton, 'Women in the Crusader States: The Queens of Jerusalem (1100-1190)', in *Medieval Women. Dedicated and Presented to Professor Rosalind M. T. Hill on the Occasion of Her Seventieth Birthday*, ed. D. Baker, Studies in Church History. Subsidia, 1 (Oxford, 1978), 143-74, at 147-8 repr. in B. Hamilton, *Crusaders, Cathars, and the Holy Places* (London, 1999)|

[69] Buchthal 1-14, 139-140 no. 1; on the queen see H. E. Mayer, 'Studies in the History of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 26 (1972), 95-182, and Hamilton, *Women in the Crusader States*, 148-57.

liturgy, and other documents relating to the liturgical activities of the patriarch and the chapter.

Its date is rather controversial[70], however the manuscript should be dated, I believe, to between 1153-7. Bulst-Thiele has already noticed how the chronological tables which precede the *Ordo qualiter debet orari pro infirmo canonico*, on f. 8ᵛ, and which seem to be contemporaneous with it, were composed before 1167[71]. In the calendar, on the 16th of August, the obituary notes for Bernard of Tremelay, fourth master of the Templars who died in 1153, is written in the original hand. Finally in the ordinal there is no mention of liturgical dispositions by any of the patriarchs after Fulcher of Celles (1145-1157). Therefore **Vat659** was written between 1153 and 1157, the end of Fulcher's patriarchate.

Vat659 contains the most complete information relating to liturgical activities of the patriarch and canons of the Holy Sepulchre. On f. 12ᵛ is transcribed a document, not found in the Cartulary of the Holy Sepulchre, concerning the processions to the church of the Holy Sepulchre on the occasion of the funeral of regular canons from the communities of Templum Domini, Mount Sion, and Mount of Olives. It was stipulated some time between 1130 and 1136 by the patriarch William of Malines (1130-46), Peter I, prior of the church of the Holy Sepulchre (*c*.1130-*c*.1148),

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[70] Salmon dates it to the twelfth century, Saxer precisely to 1160, evidently agreeing with Kallenberg. Dykmans thinks that the original part of the calendar was written before 1149, because while on 15th of July the entry for the liberation of Jerusalem has been added, the dedication of the new church of the Holy Sepulchre, in 1149, is not noted. However, the two feasts are included in the sanctoral. Finally Buchthal and Wormald attribute the compilation of the manuscript to the period 1229-44, but copied from material antedating 1187. They clearly repropose Kohler's view on another liturgical manuscript from the Holy Land, **Barletta**. However, the paleographical appearance of **Vat659**, which conforms to the other manuscripts written in the Holy Land during the twelfth century, does not justify an attribution to the following century, acceptable instead for **Barletta**.

[71] M.-L. Bulst-Thiele, *Sacrae Domus Militiae Templi hierosolymitani Magistri: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Templerordens 1118/19-1314*, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, 86 (Göttingen, 1974), 12 n. 12: they give 1139 as the beginning of the solar-cycle rather than 1167, the opening year of the next cycle.

Achardus, prior of Templum domini (*c*.1112-*c*.1136), Hernaldus, prior of Mount Sion (*c*.1117-*c*.1138), and Henricus, prior of Mount of Olives (*c*.1130-*c*.1145)[72].

On f. 13[r] is transcribed another document, not found in the Cartulary, containing the confirmation by William of Malines and Peter I, prior of the Holy Sepulchre, of certain prescriptions related to the burial of the canons of the Holy Sepulchre, dated 1133[73]. The two documents are followed by the prescriptions for reading and singing in the church of the Holy Sepulchre and by those for reading in the refectory, after which begins the Breviary.

The presence, on f. 7[v], of a list of fasting and feasting days to be observed 'fratribus templi' 'in domo templi' 'secundum precepta Innocentii pape edita in concilio qui fuit in civitate Pisana'[74], the insertion of several obituary notes of the grand-masters of the order into the calendar, and finally the fact that the obituary note for Bernard of Tremelay, as well as the list, are in the original hand, suggests that the manuscript was specifically copied for the Templars from an exemplar of the Holy Sepulchre[75]. Therefore its consideration introduces us to the question of the liturgical practice of the two military religious orders founded in Jerusalem.

A Templar manuscript from Jerusalem

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[72] A full transcription of the document, from **Barletta**, in Kohler 434-5.

[73] A full transcription of the document, from **Barletta**, in Kohler 433-4.

[74] At the Council of Pisa, held in 1135 by Innocent II, Bernard of Clairvaux, speaking in favour of the Templars, asked the bishops to support, financially, the establishment of Templar houses within their territories; see Barber, *The New Knighthood*, 344 n. 41; Bramato 44-5; D. Girgensohn, 'Das Pisaner Konzil von 1135 in der Überlieferung des Pisaner Konzils von 1409', in *Festschrift für Hermann Heimpel zum 70. Geburtstag am 19. September 1971*, 3 vols, Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, 36/I-III (Göttingen, 1971-2), II 1063-1100, at 1098: 'Ibi etiam fraternitas cum Ierosolimitani Templi militibus ab omnibus prelatis ecclesiarum, qui aderant, facta est adeo, quod idem Romanus pontifex marcarum auri singulis annis eisdem fratribus se soluturum constituit et Aimericus eius cancellarius II uncias auri annualiter repromisit. Reliqui vero archiepiscopi, episcopi, abbates et alii boni viri alii marcam argenti, alii plus, alii minus quotannis simili devotionis intuitu promisere'.

[75] The Templars were granted the right to have their own priests and oratories in 1139, with the bull *Omne datum optimum* of Innocent II.

Problems related to the safety and care of pilgrims, as well as of the resident population of the kingdom and principalities, stand at the origin of the military orders, the Templars and the Hospitallers. The Templar order was founded in Jerusalem in 1120 and subsequently confirmed by Innocent II in 1139, while the Hospitallers, as a religious order, had already received papal confirmation in 1113[76]. According to the liturgical custom which we have seen was endorsed within the patriarchate of Jerusalem, a new canonical foundation generally conformed its office to that of the cathedral within whose diocese the foundation was established. The Templar rule, both in its French and Latin versions, clearly states that the order should conform to the liturgical use of the cathedral church of the Holy Sepulchre. The French version declares:

'De toutes les autre choses que afierent au servise nostre Seignor doit chascun [faire] au meus qu'il porra segon l'aisse de la maison et ensi come nostre ordenaires, lequel fu estrais de l'ordenaire del Sepulcre, le devise'[77].

The Latin version states:

'matutinas et omne servitium integrum secundum canonicam institutionem ac regularium doctorum sancte civitatis consuetudinem pio ac puro affectu audire universaliter studeatis'[78].

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[76] On the history of the Templar order see M. Barber, *The New Knighthood. A History of the Order of the Temple* (Cambridge, 1994), on the early years see also A. Luttrell, 'The Earliest Templars', in *Autours de la Première Croisade*, ed. M. Balard (Paris, 1996), 193-202. On the history of the order of St John see J. Riley-Smith, *The Knights*; on the early years see also R. Hiestand, 'Die Änfange der Johanniter', *Die geistlichen Ritterordern Europas*, ed. J. Fleckenstein and M. Hellman (Sigmaringen, 1980), 31-80.

[77] H. de Curzon, *La règle du Temple*, Société de l'histoire de France (Paris, 1886), 206.

[78] G. Schnürer, *Die ursprüngliche Templerregel, kritisch untersucht und herausgegeben*, Studien und Darstellungen aus dem Gebiete der Geschichte, 3 (Freiburg i. B., 1908), 135. A new edition of the Templar rule, in its Latin and French version, has been established on a larger number of manuscripts by S. Cerrini, *Une expérience neuve au sein de la spiritualité médiévale: L'Ordre du Temple (1119/20-1314). Étude et édition des règles latine et française* (Thèse de doctorat, Université de Paris - Paris IV Sorbonne, 1998), which will appear within the series Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medioevalis. See also S. Cerrini, *Nuovi percorsi templari tra i manoscritti latini e francesi della regola*, in *I Templari in Piemonte, dalla storia al mito. Atti del convegno, Torino, 20 ottobre 1994* (Turin,

The Ordinal of the Holy Sepulchre, Vat659, used by the Templars in Jerusalem, provides evidence that the liturgy practised by the first Templar community was that of the diocese within which the community itself had been founded, that is the liturgy of the church of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem, as defined by their rule.

The Hospitaller rule, composed at some time between 1120 and 1153, whilst not directly referring to the use of the Holy Sepulchre, addresses the brothers as 'clerici', or 'clercs' in its French version[79], therefore implying that they were canons, not monks. Moreover, references to feasts with an office with nine lessons, therefore canonical, can be found in the 1239 *Usances* of the order[80], as well as in the statutes issued by the General Chapter held at Limassol on 30th of September 1294[81]. Unfortunately no liturgical manuscripts from the early Hospitaller communities of Jerusalem and Acre seem to have survived. However, all the extant manuscripts and early printed books made for and used by various Hospitaller communities outside the Holy Land present, as will be seen in Chapter 3, the liturgical use of the Holy Sepulchre. It is therefore reasonable to assume that, like the Templars, the Hospitallers of Jerusalem adopted the liturgical use of the patriarchal see.

Manuscripts from Acre

With the loss of Jerusalem in 1187, and after an emergency move to Tyre, all Jerusalem institutions settled in Acre in 1191, once it was reconquered by the third crusade.

1995), 35-56; and *eadem* 'La tradition manuscrite de la règle du Temple', in *Autour de la première Croisade. Actes du Colloque de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East (Clermont-Ferrand, 22-25 juin 1995)*, ed. M. Balard (Paris, 1996), 203-18.

[79] *Cart. Hosp.* no 70. The early manuscripts containing the rule of the Hospitallers were lost in 1291. Later thirteenth and fourteenth century manuscripts containing the rule survive in several French and Latin manuscripts; for a discussion on the dating and different stages of composition see E. Nasalli Rocca, 'Origine et évolution de la Règle et des statutes de l'ordre hiérosolymitain de S. Jean (auj. dit de Malta)', *AOSMM*, 19 (1961), 41-5 and 119-25; 20 (1962), 45-50 and Riley-Smith, *The Knights*, 46-51.

[80] *Cart. Hosp.* no. 2213; Legras-Lemaître 82.

From 1191 to 1291 Acre was the most important commercial and cultural centre in the Latin kingdom and with the loss of Jerusalem it became the seat of the crusader government, the residence of the patriarch of Jerusalem and of the canons of the Holy Sepulchre, as well as of other military and religious orders[82].

Even if there was no university in Acre or anywhere else in the Latin Kingdom[83], there were centres of learning. Runciman suggests the likelihood of a school connected to the Cathedral of the Holy Cross. Moreover, there must have been *studia* attached to the Franciscan and Dominican convents, established in Acre respectively in about 1219 and 1229.

According to Buchthal and Folda, while manuscript production in the first half of the century does not have many surviving witnesses, with the exception of **Napoli**, increasing activity in the second half of the century has to be connected with the patronage exercised by Louis IX († 1270) and Henry II of Lusignan. King Louis IX, in and around Acre from 1250 to 1254, was not only responsible for the reform of the legal establishment, but also for the establishment of the major *scriptorium* at Acre. It is in fact from 1250 onwards that the extant illuminated manuscripts produced in Acre date, with an increase in the very last decade of the thirteenth century, due to the regenerative effect of aristocratic patronage occasioned by the coronation of Henry II of Lusignan as king of Jerusalem, in Acre in 1286[84].

A certain number of manuscripts have been ascribed by Buchthal to Jerusalem during the years 1229 to 1244. During this period Jerusalem had returned to Christian possession, thanks to a treaty concluded between the Emperor Frederick II and the Sultan of Egypt in 1229.

Some books must certainly have been needed in Jerusalem, if not to be used by the patriarch, who never went back to Jerusalem, at least by those canons who had to

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[81] *Cart. Hosp.* no. 4259; Legras-Lemaître 82.

[82] Folda, *Crusader Manuscripts*, 3-8.

[83] William of Tyre exemplified the pattern of schooling for a Frank born in Outremer: after attending the cathedral school and receiving private tutoring, he went to study at the Universities of Paris and Bologna; see R. B. C. Huygens, 'Guillaume de Tyre étudiant: Un Chapitre (xix, 12) de son "Histoire" retrouvé', *Latomus*, 21 (1962), 822-4; Folda, *Crusader Manuscript*, 18.

[84] Buchthal 86-7; Folda, *Crusader Manuscript*, 26, 77, and 102.

officiate in the church of the Holy Sepulchre. There is however no definite evidence of the presence of a *scriptorium* in Jerusalem during these fifteen years and Buchthal's suggestion is based on Kohler's conclusions with regard to two thirteenth-century manuscripts of the Holy Sepulchre, an ordinal, **Barletta**, and a breviary, **Chant1076**. According to Kohler, **Barletta** is a copy, based on a twelfth-century text, composed in Jerusalem in the period 1229-44, because it was only in this period, with the reconquest of Jerusalem, that the various processions to the Holy Places described in the manuscript could have been carried out again. For the same reason, Kohler believes that **Chant1076**, a fourteenth-century manuscript, was a copy of a text which referred to the local conditions prevailing in Jerusalem between 1229 and 1244. However, Kohler's grounds for the attribution of **Barletta** and of **Chant1076**'s exemplar to Jerusalem 1229-44 is unsustainable. It does not take into proper consideration the conservatism typical of liturgical books: a number of far later manuscripts, even composed in Europe, retain the same indication for processions to the Holy Places for the same reason that they preserve the rest of the liturgical prescriptions of the Holy Sepulchre, a desire to continue a tradition while keeping alive the memory of a glorious past[85].

Even with no evidence to prove the contrary, I would find it quite hard to believe in a flourishing scribal activity during those very precarious years. It seems to me more plausible to assume that if books had to be produced for the return of the canons of the Holy Sepulchre to Jerusalem, these books were produced for them in Acre, a city where the entire establishment of Jerusalem had moved to, instead of relying on the possibility of still being able to utilise the scriptorium of the Holy Sepulchre almost forty years after its abandonment. It is plausible to suppose that a book like **Barletta**, a very useful compilation of all sorts of liturgical material and documents, closely resembling **Vat659**, may have been among those brought to Jerusalem in the period 1229-1244 to be used for the restored liturgical service in the church of the Holy Sepulchre. The group of manuscripts ascribed by Buchthal to this period, which, apart from **Vat659**, includes **Ricc323, BL2902, Barletta**, the exemplar used

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[85] See for example the thirteenth-century breviary written in Cyprus **Chant1076**, f. 342[r] or the fourteenth-century breviary, also written in Cyprus, **Wand**, f. 740[b].

to copy **Chant1076**, and **BL57528**, will therefore be dealt with in this section which includes the manuscripts produced in Acre.

Of the twenty (illuminated) manuscripts listed by Folda as having been produced in Acre in the period 1250-91, only **Perugia** and **BL3153** are liturgical, and both were written, according to Folda, in the period 1250-60. The other manuscripts include vernacular, and mostly secular, texts which were much more in demand, like the *History of Outremer* by William of Tyre (8 manuscripts)[86], *Histoire Universelle* (4 manuscripts)[87], Vegetius *De Re Militari*, *Livre de César*, and Cicero *De Inventione* and *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (one manuscript each)[88], and three manuscripts containing Bible selections, partly in Old French[89].

The reason why Latin ecclesiastical texts were produced in smaller numbers, has been attributed, by Folda, to the fact that older books could be passed down for further use[90]. However, the evidence that we gather from the liturgical manuscripts written and used in Acre suggests a rather different situation.

First it has to be noticed that we can rely on a larger number of exemplars, once we include non-illuminated manuscripts. As was the case for Jerusalem, manuscript production in Acre must have been active, stimulated by need, long before the establishment of an organised atelier capable of the production of high quality illuminated manuscripts. Moreover, the analysis of the liturgical contents of these manuscripts has also increased our knowledge of their origin and early use; while Acre has probably to be retained as their only place of production, at least until further paleographical studies examine some of these manuscripts with consideration of their provenance, it has been possible to differentiate manuscripts used in Acre, Jerusalem, Caesarea, Tyre, and Antioch. It can also be seen that there is, on liturgical and paleographical ground, a first period, running from the move to Acre in 1191 to about 1250, and a second period, from 1250 to the loss of the city in 1291.

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[86] Folda, *Crusaders Manuscript*, nos 1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 12, H, I.
[87] *ibid.* nos 10, E, F, G.
[88] *ibid.* nos 18, 9, 6 (in Old French).
[89] *ibid.* nos 5 (in Old French), C, D.
[90] *ibid.* 41.

To the first period should be ascribed the production of three missals, **Napoli** *c.*1200, **Perugia** 1200-1228, and **BL2902** 1225-28; a breviary, **Lucca** *c.*1200; an ordinal, **Barletta** 1202-28; two pontificals, **Siena** 1203-10, and **BL57528** 1214-17; and a psalter, **Ricc323** 1230-1240. To the second period belong a breviary, **BN10478** 1256-61 and a missal, **BL3153** 1262-70. What all these manuscripts have in common, with the probable exception of **Ricc323**, made for a royal patron, is their apparent liturgical diversity as oppose to the conformity observed in the manuscripts produced in twelfth century Jerusalem.

The first two manuscripts ascribable to the first period, **Napoli** and **Lucca** are certainly the most peculiar. **Napoli** is a missal whose sanctoral does not contain the feasts of Jerusalem and whose series of post-Pentecost Alleluia verses, unidentified, has been rather badly adapted to reflect the use of the Holy Sepulchre; it was probably copied from a Rouen exemplar. **Lucca** is a breviary which, while including a petition for the patriarch of Jerusalem after the litanies, does not present any of the Jerusalem feasts in the sanctoral, and whose chant repertoire is clearly copied from a manuscript from Chartres, while in the first part of the book can be found a collectary from Limoges. An explanation for such liturgical diversity has to be found, I would suggest, in the difficulties encountered by the patriarch and canons of the Holy Sepulchre in establishing themselves in the first years of settlement in Acre. **Lucca**, which in my view was made for Peter of Limoges, archbishop of Caesarea (1199-1237), might actually be the only extant manuscript used in the archdiocese of Caesarea, although it is not possible to determine whether it was produced there.

Perugia and **Barletta** offer a completely different picture. They closely follow the use of the Holy Sepulchre and it is quite clear that they were copied from material coming from Jerusalem. **Perugia**, moreover, is the only extant manuscript produced for the cathedral of the Holy Cross of Acre.

With the second quarter of the century, however, we start to encounter a new phenomenon, that of the appearance of French local saints in the calendar, and sometimes also in the sanctoral, of the manuscripts produced for the patriarchs of

Jerusalem residing in Acre. As far as we can see[91] there is no variation to the use of the Holy Sepulchre, only superficial additions to it, mainly in the commemoration of saints by the patriarchs, preserving a connection with their region of origin. This may reflect a change of perception by the patriarch themselves of the position they were charged with. In fact the loss of Jerusalem and the consequent inability to perform the special liturgy, in and around the most important shrine of the Kingdom, lowered the patriarch and the canons of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, now only nominally so, to the level of other religious institutions.

This coincides with an intensification of the relationship between the papacy and the patriarchate of Jerusalem. The tightening of the relationship can be seen with regard to the election of the patriarchs. While in the twelfth century most of the patriarchs had been elected either directly by, or under the influence of, the kings or queens of Jerusalem, by the thirteenth century, although the rulers were of course able to influence patriarchal elections, they had to work through the machinery of the Roman curia[92]. Albert of Vercelli (1205-14) was appointed by Innocent III; Robert of Nantes (1240-54) by Gregory IX; Jacques Pantaleon (1255-61) by Alexander IV; William of Agen (1262-70) by Urban IV; Thomas Agni (1272-77) by Gregory X; Elias of Périgueux (1279-87/8) by Nicholas III; Nicholas of Hanapes (1288-91) by Nicholas IV; finally, for the period we are concerned with, Celestin V appointed Raoul of Grandville, who was deposed and later reinstated by Boniface VIII. Moreover, as Jonathan Riley-Smith points out, from the second half of the thirteenth century the clergy of the Holy Land were increasingly given revenues, offices, and dioceses in the West to provide them with some means of livelihood to replace the territories that were being lost to the Muslims. Finally, we find that from the

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[91] Of the five manuscripts ascribable to Acre in the second and third quarter of the century, two are missals, BL2902 and BL3153, therefore the maintenance of the chant repertoire of the Holy Sepulchre can be ascertained only as far as the Alleluia verses are concerned and from a glimpse at the calendar and sanctoral. BL2902 does not even contain the Alleluia verses. The pontifical, BL57528, does not contain the chant repertoire, while the psalter Ricc323 does not contain the office of the dead, which would have provided the only indication of the liturgical use adopted. Therefore the breviary BN10478 is the only book from which we can gather that the chant repertoire was still that of the Holy Sepulchre.

[92] Hamilton 245.

pontificate of Innocent IV, and particularly of Urban IV, Syrian titular bishops were employed as papal diplomatists on missions in the East as well as the West[93].

The historical events of the thirteenth century, which caused the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the patriarchate to be less focused on Jerusalem itself and more closely connected with the papacy and the West, left a clear mark in the liturgical practice of the patriarchate as evidenced by their books.

1.6 Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale, cod. VI, G 11 (c. 1200)

The missal **Napoli** is the only manuscript ascribed by Buchthal and Folda to the first half of the thirteenth century. Even if the calendar is now missing, we can see from the sanctoral that this missal did not originally present the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre. Although it is very close to the sanctoral of the Holy Sepulchre, there are no Jerusalem feasts. The only slightly unusual saints are Audoenus (24 Aug.) bishop of Rouen, and Genovefa (3 Jan.), the patroness of Paris; Audoenus also comes second after Silvester among the confessors in the litanies. In the petitions which follow the litanies there is no mention of the patriarch, however the presence of `Ut pacem...`, first among the petitions, of `Ut Iudeos et paganos conuertere digneris`, and of `Ut hereticos et scismaticos...` clearly fits well into a crusader context. This is confirmed by the series of post-Pentecost Alleluia verses, which has been adapted to the use of the Holy Sepulchre. Therefore if we accept Buchthal's opinion that this manuscript was actually written in Acre at the beginning of the thirteenth century, we have to assume that it was copied, for the canons of the Holy Sepulchre, from a Rouen exemplar and eventually adapted by them to conform the chant repertoire to their own tradition[94].

1.7 Lucca, Biblioteca Arcivescovile, ms. 5 (c.1200)

Lucca, an early thirteenth century breviary, is certainly the most surprising case. The calendar is lost, but neither the saints venerated in the sanctoral, nor those in the

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[93] Riley-Smith, *Latin Titular Bishops*, 9 and 15.

[94] The fact that this manuscript was owned by the bishop of Troia in the late seventeenth century suggests that it stayed with the canons once it had left the Holy Land, ending up in Troia, where they had a house.

litanies, include the saints of Jerusalem, although among the petitions which follow the litanies, that for the patriarch of Jerusalem can be found. The sanctoral predates 1173; not only are the mendicant saints not present, but nor is Thomas of Canterbury. The manuscript, moreover, presents mostly the liturgical use of Chartres[95]. A short chronicle of the success of the crusaders, from 1097 to 1124, is included on f. 18vb. Ff. 11ra-12vb, which contain the collects or prayers, consist of a long list of saints grouped according to the specific prayer which ought to be read for them. If we exclude the 'common' twelfth-century saints, we are left with a substantial presence of local saints from the Limousine area. They include, to list only a few, Austriclinianus and Alpinianus (27 Apr.), two priests who accompanied S. Martialis to Limoges and were probably bishops of the town after him; Cessator, supposedly thirtysecond bishop of Limoges[96]; Gonsaldus (5 Nov.) hermit of Limoges; Tillo (7 Jan.), monk of Solignac, venerated within the dioceses of Limoges, Tulle, and St Flour; Sorus (1 Feb.), hermit of Terrasson-la-Villedieu; Pardulfus (6 Oct.), the founder of the monastery of Guéret (Creuse), again venerated in the Limousine and Corrèze. Others are saints venerated in the bordering regions, like Amantius (4 Nov.), bishop of Rodez, Austremonius (3 Nov.), bishop of Clermont, Austregesilus (20 May), patron saint of Bourges, Genulfus (17 Jan.) bishop of Cahors. Finally, we find a noticeable Cluniac presence, with Odilo (1 Jan.), abbot of Cluny, Leotadius (23 May), bishop of Auch but venerated at Cluny and its dependencies, and Lautenus (6 Nov.), founder of the monastery of Silèze, near Autun, and also venerated at Cluny.

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[95] The Advent and Easter offices correspond exactly to Chartres. The office for the Annunciation (25 Mar.) is different from both Jerusalem and Chartres. The office for the Assumption (15 Aug.), lacking the first four responsories, corresponds to Chartres for the fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth responsory, but the ninth is different. The office for All Saints day corresponds to that of the Holy Sepulchre, but in position 8 it presents also the responsory *O quam gloriosum est celestium* [22] with the versicle *Illic per illorum interven.* [130d], both of which are found in position 9 in the Chartres series. The office of the dead is a derivation from the Chartres office, from which it differs only in position seven. The office for the dedication of the church is identical with that of the Holy Sepulchre, which was derived from the Chartres use, but position 6 and 9 are inverted.

[96] *BS* III 1161.

The manuscript, clearly copied in Outremer in view of the petition for the patriarch of Jerusalem and of the chronicle, must therefore have been copied from more then one manuscript. The text from an old breviary from Chartres, predating 1173, which either reached Jerusalem at the time of the patriarchate of Stephen of La Ferté (1128-30) and somehow survived, or was a more recent arrival at Acre from the same place, was integrated with a *Collectarium* from Limoges, also from the twelfth century and possibly from a Cluniac environment. The person responsible for the production of this manuscript may have been, I would like to suggest, Peter of Limoges, archbishop of Caesarea from 1199 to 1237. Caesarea was one of the only three cathedral cities of the Latin patriarchate remaining in Frankish hands after 1187. Peter was consecrated by the patriarch Aimery of Caesarea or the Monk (1197-1202), former archbishop of Caesarea. As Hamilton points out, he must have been a comparatively young man since he held that office for thirty-eight years[97]. In 1202 he was nominated Aimery's successor by the archbishop of Tyre, delegated by the electors who had been unable to reach an agreement. This election, however, was not ratified by Innocent III (1198-1216), who sent Soffred, cardinal of Sta Prassede, as his legate to deal with the matter. Soffred was eventually chosen as patriarch in 1203, only to resign the office the following year[98]. That the archbishop of Caesarea was a man of considerable stature can be seen, however, by the fact that on more than one occasion he was chosen to be in charge of the affairs of the Latin Church in Palestine. This was the case in 1223, after the death of the patriarch of Jerusalem, Ralph of Merencourt (1215-1224), and before the arrival of the new patriarch Gerold of Lausanne[99]. Again, the day after Frederick II took possession of Jerusalem on 17th of March 1229, the archbishop of Caesarea was in Jerusalem, acting on the patriarch's orders, to place the city under an interdict. Finally, from 1233 to 1237, during which time the patriarch Gerold had been recalled to Rome, Peter must have been again in charge of the affairs of the Latin Church, until his death in 1237, before Gerold's return[100]. Peter of Caesarea was also wealthy and

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[97] Hamilton 244-5.
[98] *ibid.* 248-9.
[99] *ibid.* 257.
[100] *ibid.* 258-60.

generous enough to be a patron of religious houses[101]. The presence, within the sanctoral, of the entry for the ˋpassio beati Procopi' (8 July), the martyr of Caesarea[102], rather confirms the relationship of this breviary with the archdiocese of Caesarea. The liturgical confusion of the book, however, makes me believe that the manuscript must have been copied very early during Peter's office, basically during those first years of the thirteenth century when good or complete liturgical books from the alienated patriarchate of Jerusalem were difficult to find and for this reason different liturgical texts, mostly arrived from Europe, were copied and somehow adapted, with various degrees of success, to the use of Jerusalem. As to the place of production, given the haphazard way in which the manuscript was put together, I would not exclude Caesarea itself; however, we do not have, at least at the moment, any evidence for a *scriptorium* located there, and therefore Acre has to be taken as the more probable place of production.

1.8 Perugia, Biblioteca Capitolare, ms. 6 (1200-28)

Perugia is a missal made for the cathedral of the Holy Cross in Acre. On 12th of July, the day of the reconquest of Acre in 1191, the calendar records ˋIn dedicatione ecclesie [Acconensis]', with an octave. In the calendar and sanctoral, the only Jerusalem festivities inserted are Quadraginta martyrum (11 Mar.) and Quiriacus (4 May), while entries not related to the sanctoral of the Holy Sepulchre include Firminus (25 Sept.) bishop of Amiens and Nicasius (11 Oct.) bishop of Rouen. In the litanies there are no Jerusalem saints, nor the petition for the patriarch. The post-Pentecost Alleluia series, however, is clearly that of the Holy Sepulchre. Perugia therefore constitutes for us the only extant example of a liturgical manuscript produced for and used by the cathedral of Acre. It also shows the variation which occurred in the sanctoral of a book from a dependent diocese of Jerusalem.

This manuscript has been dated by Buchthal and Folda to the third quarter of the thirteenth century. However, the references, in the calendar and sanctoral, to S. Francis, canonized in 1228, and S. Dominic, canonized in 1234, were added in a

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[101] *ibid.* 292: he made a grant of tithe to Josaphat in 1199 and granted a church to the order of St Lazarus at the end of his life.

different hand at some time after the manuscript's original production. It is very unlikely, I believe, that a manuscript written after the canonization of S. Francis, who visited Acre in July of 1219 and again in the winter of 1219-1220[103], would not include an entry for the saint. The same should be noted with regard to S. Dominic. The Dominican order came to be very prominent in Acre; three of the last four patriarchs of Jerusalem were Dominican, and when Acre fell there were twice as many Dominicans as Franciscans in their respective convents[104]. It is unlikely that a manuscript written after S. Dominic's canonization would not include an entry for the saint, nor for S. Peter, martyr of the Dominican order (29 Apr.), who died in 1252.

If, on art historical grounds, the manuscript has to be attributed to the second half of the century, then we would have to assume that it is a copy of a manuscript produced in the thirteenth century before 1228. Still, the absence of the feasts of the two popular mendicant saints and the paleographical aspect of the manuscript, written above top line like **Napoli**[105], rather suggest an attribution to the first half of the century[106].

1.9 Barletta, Archivio della Chiesa del Santo Sepolcro (1202-28)

Barletta, which Kohler describes as a breviary, is more precisely an ordinal, very close in content and layout to **Vat659**. While Giovene and Kohler had observed that the calendar was Roman with Jerusalem additions, the festivities of Jerusalem are present in the calendar, some of which are entered by the original hand[107]; they also appear, with their office, in the sanctoral.

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[102] *BS* X 1159-66.

[103] Folda, *Crusader Manuscript*, 10.

[104] *ibid.* 19 n. 81.

[105] The manuscript seems to me written above top line; however, according to Folda **Perugia** is written below top line; see Folda, *Crusader Manuscript*, 215 no. A; on above and below top line technique of writing in Acre see also 37 n. 56.

[106] Also this manuscript was brought out of Acre by the canons of the Holy Sepulchre who took it to Perugia, where 's Maria delaneue' (5 Aug.), in an Italian spelling, and several other entries were added to the calendar.

[107] Like Mathie (30 Jan., cancelled), Resurrectio domini (27 Mar., erased), Ierosolimis b Quiriaci ep et m (4 May), Dedicatio ecclesie Dominici sepulcri (15

Most of the other entries by the original hand are also common to the twelfth-century Jerusalem calendar[108]; there are, however, a few original entries which are not normally found in the twelfth-century manuscripts of the Holy Sepulchre, like Martialis (30 June) bishop of Limoges and Cessator (15 Nov.), supposedly thirtysecond bishop of Limoges[109], who also appears among the collects of **Lucca**. *l* -

The later addition of the entries for S. Francis and S. Dominic suggests that the calendar was compiled sometime between 1173 (canonisation of S. Thomas) and 1228 (canonisation of S. Francis). The presence of the two saints venerated in Limoges, however, points towards Acre as place of production. It is in fact in the calendars of the manuscripts produced since the move of the canons and patriarch of Jerusalem to Acre that we find the appearance of regional French saints. S. Martialis can also be found in the calendar of **BL2902**, a sacramentary ascribable to the patriarchate of Gerold of Lausanne (see below, no. 1.12), dated 1225-1228. However, the presence of S. Cessator provides, I believe, the answers to the dating and commission of this manuscript. Despite being quoted by Bernard Ⅎ-Ⲧⲓⲉⲣ(13th   *l* Iύᴄⲅ

century) as the thirtysecond bishop of Limoges, Cessator does not appear in the   *l* -

episcopal list drawn by Adhemar of Chabannes († 1034). Modern hagiographers[110] suggest therefore that Cessator was a local saint transformed by tradition into a bishop who had fought the Saracens in the eighth century. His relics are kept in the church of Berneuil (Haute-Vienne), of which he is patron saint, and there is also a mention of a translation of his relics, at an unspecified date, to Saint-Xantin, in the Corrèze. Finally a church was dedicated to the saint in Limoges. Located 'extra muros', it also contained the relics of Aurelianus, and was destroyed during the Revolution. The inscription of such a local saint could hardly be solicited but by somebody coming from that very area of Limoges and its immediate surroundings,

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July, erased), Zachei ep (23 Aug.), Abraham Ysaac et Iacob ix lc (6 Oct.), Ierusalem Sabe ab ix lc (5 Dec.), Lazari ep (17 Dec.) quem dominus suscitauit ix lc.

[108] Eulalie (12 Feb.), Quadraginta mm (11 Mar.), Margarita (20 July), Patris nostri Augustini ep (28 Aug.), Lamberti (17 Sept.), Eligii (1 Dec.), Thome (29 Dec.) Cantuariensis ep et m.

[109] *BS* III 1161.

[110] J. L. Baudot and L. Chaussin, *Vies de saintes et des bienheureux*, 13 vols (Paris, 1935-59), XI 467-8; see also *DHGE* XII col. 253.

and that person was, I believe, Peter of Limoges, archbishop of Caesarea (1199-1237). As we have already seen, Peter was probably the person responsible for the production, around 1200, of **Lucca**, the unusual breviary which presents the liturgical use of Chartres. It is plausible that, in more settled years, Peter commissioned another text for his archdiocese, this time making sure that it correctly reflected the liturgy of the patriarchate of Jerusalem. As on f. 41vb of the ordinal there is a chronicle of the Holy Land for the years 1097-1202, the manuscript was composed, I believe, for Peter of Caesarea between 1202 and 1228 (canonisation of S. Francis), and very likely in Acre, where the activities of the surviving kingdom of Jerusalem were concentrating; certainly not in Jerusalem, at this time in the hands of Saladin. There is no compelling reason to believe that this ordinal was ever used in Jerusalem in the period during which the Latins were back in the Holy City (1229-1244). As it stands, it is a book which contains the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre, which of course was practised within the archbishopric of Caesarea. However, it is not unreasonable to hypothesise that this ordinal might have been among those books eventually brought to Jerusalem to be used by the re-established canons of the Holy Sepulchre. And in this respect it should be remembered that Peter of Caesarea himself went to Jerusalem in 1229, when, acting on patriarch Gerold's orders, he placed the city under an inderdict, to demonstrate the patriarch's strong disagreement with Frederick II over his negotiation with the sultan al-Kamil of Egypt for the restoration of Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth to the Latins[111].

The manuscript must have been taken to Barletta[112] at some time between the loss of Acre in 1291 and 1304, date of the death of Raoul of Granville, whose obituary note has been added to the calendar.

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[111] Hamilton 258-9.

[112] The church of the Holy Sepulchre of Barletta came into the possession of the canons of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem some time between 1128 and 1138; while it does not appear in the general confirmation of their possessions granted by Honorius II in 1128 (de Rozière no. 16), it appears for the first time in a confirmation granted in 1138 by Innocent II (de Rozière no. 17); see Kohler 460 and G. Bresc-Bautier, 'Les possessions des églises de Terre-Sainte en Italie du sud (Pouille, Calabre, Sicile)', in *Roberto il Guiscardo e il suo tempo. Relazioni e*

Fourteenth-century hands have added to the calendar a number of Southern Italian saints[113] and a few obituary notes, among which, in red ink, can be read on 3rd of November: 'Obiit venerabilis dominus Ridul[fus] patriarcha Ierosolymitanus de ordine predicatorum'. This is the obituary note for the Dominican Raoul of Granville, first titular patriarch of Jerusalem (1294-1304), who had previously been the provincial prior of the Holy Land, according to Bernard Gui[114]. Raoul, appointed patriarch of Jerusalem by Celestine V, was consecrated in Paris by the archbishop of Rouen at the end of 1294. After Celestine's abdication he was deposed by Boniface VIII and reinstated into the office in 1295. It is however not clear where he spend ⅃t the ten years of his patriarchate, whether in Perugia, where part of the canons of the Holy Sepulchre had moved after leaving Acre, or in Cyprus, where the prior of the Holy Sepulchre established himself with other canons. While his presence in Italy is documented in 1295 and in 1304, it seems that the sources relating to the ecclesiastical activities in Cyprus at the beginning of the fourteenth century are silent about the patriarch of Jerusalem[115]. In a letter from Rome dated 7th of March 1304, Benedict XI authorised Raoul to alienate, for his own profit, as well as for making provisions for his own burial, 'de bonis mobilibus ecclesiasticis tue dispositioni seu administrationi commissis'[116]. With another letter dated Perugia 5th of June 1304, moreover, Benedict XI granted Raoul the administration of the

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comunicazioni nelle Prime Giornate normanno-sveve (Bari, maggio 1973), Fonti e Studi del Corpus membranarum italicarum, 11 (Rome, 1975), 7-34.

[113] Like Leucius (11 Jan.) bishop of Brindisi, Sabinus (9 Feb.) bishop of Canosa, Barbatus (20 Feb.) bishop of Benevento, the apparition of S. Michael in Monte Gargano (8 May), the translation of S. Nicholas of Myra to Bari (9 May), Cathaldus (12 May), the Irish saint who died in Taranto on the way to a pilgrimage to the Holy Land and who is venerated as a bishop and patron saint of the city; Bartholomeus (25 Aug.) of Benevento; the apparition of S. Michael in Monte Tumba (16 Oct.); Maurus (25 Oct.) bishop of Bisceglie; Elisabeth of Hungary (19 Nov. canonised in 1235); Rogerius (30 Dec.), bishop of Canne, whose body was translated to Barletta and venerated there as patron saint.

[114] Bernard Gui, De prelatis ordinis FF. Predicatorum (Paris, BN, ms. lat. 5486), p. 52; he had also been Celestine V's penitentiary; see Kohler 462-3.

[115] Kohler 463-5.

[116] Registres des Benoît XI, ed. C. Grandjean, Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 2ᵉ s. (Paris, 1905), col. 561 no. 935; Kohler 465.

diocese of Brindisi (Apulia), the reason being, as before, the necessity to provide some form of income for the destitute patriarch *in partibus*[117].

Given the obituary entry into the calendar of the ordinal of **Barletta**, it is possible that Raoul spent his last years with the canons of Barletta, and that at his death, if not before, he left to them the ordinal of the Holy Sepulchre which had come into his possession as patriarch of Jerusalem, as seen from Benedict XI's letter.

1.10 Siena, Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati, G. V. 12 (1203-10)

Siena is a pontifical composed for the church of Tyre at the time of archbishop Clarembaldus de Broies (1203-10)[118]. On f. 52ʳ the text of the 'Ordinatio ad consecrandum episcopum' specifically mentions the church of Tyre, as do the 'Ordinatio abbatis' and the 'Professio abbatis' on f. 59ᵛ and f. 61ʳ[119].

This manuscript was extensively studied in the 1960s by Hans Eberhard Mayer, who had the good fortune to work on it before it was restored and rebound some time after 1967. The binding, which Mayer describes as paperboards, must have been loose or even partially detached if he was able to note a paper pasted onto the sewn gatherings with an inscription in a seventeenth/eighteenth-century hand which read: 'Ms. Pontificale et Ritulae Tyrensis ecclesiae [et?] Bo...' where the suggestion of reading 'Bo' as Bonacursus is, in Mayer's words, as hazardous as it is tempting[120]. According to Mayer, the manuscript was probably brought to Siena by the last archbishop of Tyre before the loss of the Holy Land, Bonacursus de Gloria (1272-1295)[121], a Dominican, probably of Italian origin; some marginal notes in an early fourteenth-century hand adapt the text with special reference to the church of

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[117] *Registres de Benoît XI*, ed. Grandjean, col. 564 no. 944; Kohler 464.

[118] H. E. Mayer, 'Das Pontifikale von Tyrus und die Krönung der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 21 (1967), 141-232, at 148.

[119] f. 52ʳ [Ordinatio ad vocandum et examinandum seu consecrandum episcopum.] '...Reuerendissimo archiepiscopo N. Tyrensis sedis dignitate conspicuo, clerus et populus nostre ecclesie tocius deuocionis famulatum...'; f. 59ᵛ [Bn vel ordinatio abbatis.] '...Vis Tyrensi ecclesie et michi meisque successoribus subiectionem et obedientiam exhibere...'; f. 61ʳ [Professio abbatis.] '...Ego N. humilis cenobii beati ill. abbas promitto tibi, pater N., et successoribus tuis atque matri ecclesie Tyrensi debitam subiectionem atque obedientiam secundum statuta sanctorum patrum...'

[120] *ibid.* 213-4.

Siena[122]. Bonacursus was apparently given in 1294 the administration of the church of Luni in Liguria by Celestin V[123]. The manuscript, however, stayed in Siena, where in the seventeenth/eighteenth century it was owned by the Accademia degli Intronati, whose collection eventually became part of the Siena public library.

1.11 London, British Library, Additional 57528 (1214-17)

BL57528 is an early thirteenth-century pontifical based on a late eleventh - early twelfth-century Romano-Germanic pontifical but includes components of the later Pontifical of the Roman Curia. Therefore it represents a transitional exemplar which corrects or completes the twelfth-century pontifical with that of the Curia, already known at the time of composition of the manuscript[124]. According to Wormald it was written by the same scribe who wrote BL2902[125]. The manuscript contains on f. 205[r] the oath of obedience to the archbishop of Apamea by the bishop elect of Valania (Bâniyâs), dated 6th of December 1214. Apamea was one of the metropolitan sees within the patriarchate of Antioch. While the city of Apamea was captured by Nur-ad-Din in 1149 and never recovered by the Franks, part of the diocese remained in their hands, therefore archbishops continued to be appointed[126]. Valania was one of the sees which remained in Frankish control[127]; it became vacant in 1215 and Odo, archdeacon of Beirut, was elected[128].

While a pontifical would not have been commissioned in Jerusalem, at this time in Muslim hands, it is possible, as Folda points out as well, that the manuscript, like many others, was commissioned in Acre, the main cultural centre at the time.

The only revealing information which might direct us to the origin of the manuscript can be gathered from the litanies on f. 142[r], where Magnus, twenty-fifth bishop of

[121] Eubel I 534.

[122] On f. 39[r]: 'Dominus episcopus Senensis', on f. 40[r]: 'Dominus noster Senensis'.

[123] Mayer, *Das Pontifikale*, 150.

[124] M. Andrieu, *Le Pontifical romain au moyen âge*, 4 vols, Studi e Testi, 86-88, 99 (Rome, 1938-41), I 102 and 112.

[125] F. Wormald, 'The Pontifical of Apamea', *Het Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* (1954), 271-9, at 276.

[126] Hamilton 40-1.

[127] *ibid.* 41.

[128] *Cart. Hosp.* no. 1432; Hamilton 223.

Milan[129], is the only regional feature among the confessors and Savina, patroness of Lodi (Milan)[130], among the virgins. It may be that the insertion of Magnus and Savina are reminiscent of the Ambrosian liturgy and have to be connected with Peter II of Antioch, who had been bishop of Ivrea from 1205-6, a town within the archbishopric of Milan[131]. Peter II was patriarch of Antioch between 1209 and 1217[132]. A Cistercian monk of La Ferté (Haute Marne) before being appointed bishop of Ivrea, he founded on the Black Mountain the Cistercian house of Sta Maria de Jubino, which became a daughter house of La Ferté in 1214[133]. This manuscript was probably written between 1214, date of the oath copied on f. 205[r], and 1217, date of Peter II's death.

There are in **BL57528** Cistercian additions in a fourteenth-century hand which suggest that the manuscript was left by Peter II to the community of Cistercians he had founded, and where he probably spent the last days of his life. In 1268, because of the conquest of Antioch and the Black Mountain by Baibars, the Cistercians of Sta Maria de Jubino took refuge at Beaulieu, a Cypriot Cistercian house of the

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[129] Originally venerated on 1 November, with the introduction of the feast of All Saints into the Ambrosian martirology his feast was moved to 5 November. Buried in the church of S. Eustorgio in Milan, in 1248 his relics were 'recognised' by the Dominicans who, at that time, officiated the basilica; see *BS* VIII 546; *Liber notitiae sanctorum Mediolani*, ed. M. Magistretti and U. Monneret de Villard (Milan, 1917), col. 271-2.

[130] Venerated the 30th of January; see *BS* XI 698-9; *Liber notitiae sanctorum Mediolani*, col. 362-3.

[131] Ivrea was a suffragan of the church of Milan until 1515, when Turin became a metropolitan church taking Ivrea and Mondovì, previously part of the archdiocese of Milan, under its jurisdiction; see *La diocesi di Como l'arcidiocesi di Gorizia l'amministrazione apostolica ticinese, poi diocesi di Lugano l'arcidiocesi di Milano*, ed. P. Braun and H. J. Gilomen, Helvetia Sacra, I/6 (Basel and Frankfurt a. Main, 1989), 308.

[132] Hamilton 219-24.

[133] B. Hamilton, 'The Cistercians in the Crusader States', in *One yet Two. Monastic Tradition East and West*, ed. M. B. Pennington, Cistercian Studies, 29 (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1976), 405-22, at 408-10, repr. in B. Hamilton, *Monastic Reform, Catharism and the Crusades, (900-1300)* (London, 1979), X.

Morimondo family[134]. From there they eventually moved to Europe, probably to Genoa, where the community joined the Cistercians of St Maria de Zerbino.[135]

This Pontifical was by the seventeenth century in the possession of the Cistercians of Chaalis (diocese of Senlis), of the Pontigny family[136]. Another way by which this manuscript may have reached France is through Gerard, bishop of Valania, who in 1289 was given the administration of the priory of St Samson of Orleans, which belonged to the abbey of Mount Sion, and by 1299 was commander of the Hospitaller house at Senlis[137]. If the manuscript stayed at Valania and was eventually taken by Gerard to Senlis in 1299, it would have been by the fourteenth century in the area of Chaalis, which was part of the diocese of Senlis. However, it seems more likely that the passage of BL57528 from Antioch to, eventually, Chaalis was the result of the movements of relocation of the Cistercian communities which in the fourteenth and fifteenth century had to leave the Latin East.

1.12 London, British Library, Egerton 2902 (1225-28)

BL2902 is a sacramentary ascribable to the patriarchate of Gerold of Lausanne (1225-39), formerly abbot of Cluny and bishop of Valence, in Dauphiné, 1220-2. Apart from the omission of the translation of S. Augustine (11 Oct.), in place of which the calendar records the feast of Germanus Nicasius and Quirinus, the calendar retains all the characteristics of previous calendars from the Holy Sepulchre, to which are now added various entries connected with the South of France[138]. It should be noted, however, that the new entries, with the exception of Iustus et Pastor, are limited to their inclusion into the calendar, which indicates that if masses were ever to be sung for those saints, they had to be taken from the

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[134] Coureas 223.
[135] Hamilton, *The Cistercians*, 420.
[136] *DHGE* XII 260.
[137] Riley-Smith, *Latin Titular Bishops*, 9-10.
[138] Pontius (11 May), venerated in Montpellier and Thomières, close to Narbonne, Martialis (30 June), bishop of Limoges, Iustus et Pastor (6 Aug.), patron saints of Narbonne, included in the sanctoral as well, Salvius (10 Sept.), bishop of Albi, Apollinaris (5 Oct.), bishop of Valence, Geraldus of Aurillac (13 Oct.), Amantius (4 Nov.), bishop of Rodez, Veranus (13 Nov.), bishop of Cavaillon, Annianus (17 Nov.), bishop of Orleans, Trophinus (29 Dec.), bishop of Arles.

common of saints, as there is no sign of proper masses in the sanctoral. Strictly speaking, therefore, the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre appears to be unvaried, even if unfortunately the series of post-Pentecost Alleluia verses cannot be verified, as they have not been included.

This manuscript was assigned by Wormald - Buchthal to the *scriptorium* of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem 1228-44, but a few more considerations have to be noted. Certainly the sudden presence, in the calendar, of saints from the South of France should be related to the patriarchate of Gerold, but Gerold never went to Jerusalem. After his arrival from Europe in 1225 he stayed in Acre, and even when Frederick II managed to retake Jerusalem, in 1229, he did not restore his see there, but appointed the dean of Jaffa and the abbot of the Mount of Olives as his vicars in Jerusalem[139]. Secondly, the addition of the *missa pro regina* on f. 124 in a nearly contemporary hand clearly suggests that the manuscript was used at a time when a queen ruled in the Holy Land. Isabel II, queen regnant between 1212 and 1228, ~~until her husband Frederick II took over~~ is the only possibility[140]. The book must moreover have been used by Gerold himself or his immediate entourage; even considering the return of the canons of the Holy Sepulchre to Jerusalem and the possible re-opening of the *scriptorium*, it would be hard otherwise to explain why they would want to include all the Southern French saints found in this manuscript. Therefore it is more reasonable to consider BL2902 as written in Acre between 1225, arrival of Gerold in Acre, and 1228, end of the reign of Isabel II.

The addition, in BL2902, of the mass for S. Acatius (f. 151^v), venerated in Nicosia, in a late thirteenth-century hand, suggests that this manuscript was used in Cyprus before finding its way to Italy in the following century.

1.13 Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, ms. 323 (1230-1240)

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[139] de Roziere no. 178; Kohler 449 n. 3; Hamilton 261.

[140] Other queens regnant of the late twelfth/thirteenth century are Sybil 1186-90, Isabel I 1192-1205, and Maria 1205-12; see Hamilton, *ad indicem*. But dating the manuscript back to these periods would leave unexplained the Southern French inclusions of the calendar.

The Riccardiana Psalter opens with a calendar which contains all the festivities of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, with only a few unusual entries relating to Northern Italy[141]. The litanies, French in their general appearance, do not list the Italian saints; instead the English royal saints Edmund and Edward the Confessor appear among the martyrs. Benedict is listed first among the confessors, and Anne is also in a predominant position, listed third among the virgins. On f. 172^r there is a petition for the abbess and the king, but not for the patriarch. On f. 174^r there is a prayer *Pro abbatissa* and another *Pro comite nostro*. These data suggest that this psalter was copied from a text composed for the Benedictine convent of nuns of St Anne in Jerusalem. They moved to Acre after 1187[142] and never went back to Jerusalem, as their convent stayed in Muslim possession even in the period 1229-44. Therefore this psalter was clearly produced in Acre.

According to Boase[143], the table of solar cycles of 28 years begins in 1100 and ends in 1212; this suggests strongly that the book was written in the fifth cycle, that is between 1212 and 1240, a date borne out by a table for the computation of Easter which begins with 1230. Also according to Boase, the petition *Pro comite nostro* may refer to count John of Brienne, ex-king of Jerusalem (1210-12), regent (1212-25) for his daughter Isabel; he died in 1237.

According to Buchthal, this psalter was probably commissioned *c.* 1235 by Emperor Frederick II to be sent to Worms and presented as a gift to his future third wife, Princess Isabel of England, sister of King Henry III, 'to remind the Emperor's English bride, as well as his German subjects, of his outstanding success as the protector of the Holy Sepulchre'[144]. If, as Buchthal noted, the decoration of the psalter reflects German and Sicilian features, this appearance, as well as the presence of Northern Italian saints in the calendar, might be explained as being

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[141] Firmus et Rusticus (9 Aug.), martyrs in Verona, venerated in Verona and Bergamo, Cassianus (13 Aug.), bishop of Todi, Umbria, Felix et Fortunatus (14 Aug.), venerated in Vicenza, Leontius et Carpoforus (20 Aug.), venerated in Vicenza, Genesius (25 Aug.), bishop of Brescello, Alexander (26 Aug.), venerated in Bergamo.

[142] Hamilton 299-300.

[143] Boase, *Ecclesiastical Art*, 129-130.

[144] Buchthal 41.

copied from books coming from the royal entourage. However, if this was the case, there would be no reason to include a prayer for count John of Brienne, as he and Frederick II had been enemies and by 1235 John had become Latin Emperor of Constantinople, and would surely have been described as *Imperator*. If this psalter was produced at Frederick II's request, it is more likely that the count referred to in the prayer was Richard, Earl of Cornwall, Isabel's brother, who went on crusade and stayed in Acre from October 1240 to May 1241[145]. He would then have commissioned the psalter in Acre at Frederick II's request. In this case the date of production should be moved to *c*. 1240.

I think that this psalter requires further investigation to enable us to more accurately assess the apparently discordant elements which it contains. However it is safe to retain it as an Acre production of the period between 1230 and 1240.

By virtue of Frederick's second marriage to Isabel II, queen regnant of Jerusalem (1212-28), he had taken up from Isabel's father, count John of Brienne, the regency of the kingdom from 1225, the date of their marriage, and he continued to act as regent in name of his son Conrad, legitimate king of Jerusalem, until 1243. However, Frederick was in his kingdom only briefly in 1228 and 1229, when he concluded the treaty with the sultan of Egypt to regain possession of the Holy places, Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth. After that he left never to return, exercising his authority through German and Italian bailiffs[146].

The manuscript clearly never reached Worms, and it was still in Acre in the late thirteenth century, when the obituary note for a Count Roger, possibly Roger of Sanseverino, bailiff of Jerusalem on behalf of Charles of Anjou in the years 1277-1282, was added to the calendar on 21st of June. After the loss of Acre in 1291, it found its way to Italy, where it was used by a Dominican sister of the convent of San Silvestro, probably near Florence[147].

To the second period of liturgical manuscript production in Acre can be ascribed two manuscripts which, in their codicological and paleographical aspects, closely

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[145] These observations were kindly provided by Bernard Hamilton.
[146] Buchthal 39-40.

resemble the many non liturgical manuscripts produced, according to Buchthal and Folda, in the Acre atelier active in the second half of the thirteenth century. Their aspect is characterised by a marked influence of the French gothic style.

1.14 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. lat. 10478 (1256-61)

BN10478 is a breviary made for the Templars in Acre. Dated *post* 1232, probably 1240-44, by Leroquais, it has been ascribed by Buchthal to Jerusalem, 1229-44. Folda dates it to *c*.1240. Three distinctive components can be isolated: the calendar, which originally reflects the Metz liturgy, has been adapted to the use of the Holy Sepulchre, with the exception of the feast for the liberation of Jerusalem and dedication of the church of the Holy Sepulchre (15 July), which does not appear. The original entry for the Franciscan Anthony of Padua (13 June), who died in 1231, on one hand, and the absence of an entry for S. Dominic, canonized in 1234, on the other, suggests that the calendar dates from between 1231 and 1234. S. Francis, canonized in 1228, is added to the calendar and he is not in the sanctoral.

Pages 15 and 16, written in a different hand, contain a list of fasting days 'que cum ieiuniis et sine ieiunio in domo templi seruantur...' According to Cerrini it is an extract from the Templar *retrais*, that is to say the legislation of the order, datable to 1250-75. The possibility that the house of the Temple actually refers to the Templum domini, as Leroquais suggested, has to be ruled out. The area of the temple, which included Templum Domini and Templum Salomonis, was retained by the Muslims even during the period 1229-44[148].

Finally the breviary presents in the sanctoral the festivities of the Holy Sepulchre, again with the exception of the liberation of Jerusalem and dedication of the church of the Sepulchre. The chant repertoire is that of the Holy Sepulchre. However, there is no mention of the saints of Jerusalem in the litanies, nor of the patriarch in the following petitions.

The circulation of a calendar from Metz, reused for the production of a breviary for the Templar community can be connected, I believe, with the arrival in Acre, in June

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[147] I have been unable, so far, to locate the monastery.
[148] Kohler 447 n. 1.

1256, of the new patriarch of Jerusalem, Jacques Pantaleon (1255-61), who had previously served as archdeacon of Liège, and who had been appointed bishop of Verdun in 1252. Pantaleon was also to be the future pope Urban IV (1261-4)[149].

The attribution of **BN10478** to the period covered by the patriarchate of Jacques Pantaleon who, appointed in 1255, reached Acre in 1256, would explain both the circulation of a calendar of Metz, and the paleographical aspect of the manuscript, typical of Acre production in the second hald of the thirteenth century; moreover it would fit better with the dating of the *retrais*.

The addition, in **BN10478**, of Scilominus[150] (21 Nov.) to the calendar, suggests that this manuscript must have spent some time in Cyprus before being taken to Italy. It was probably in the possession of a Carmelite community even before reaching Piacenza, as the numerous Carmelite additions to the calendar seem to suggest.

1.15 London, British Library, Egerton 3153 (1262-70)

BL3153 is a missal dated by Buchthal to the period 1250-75. There are no saints of the Holy Sepulchre in the calendar nor in the sanctoral. The series of Alleluia verses for the Sundays after the octave of Pentecost is also quite different to the one found in the Holy Sepulchre manuscripts. This manuscript, however, can be attributed to the use of the Holy Sepulchre on the basis of the following indications: on stylistic grounds, as noted by Buchthal; because of the entry, in the calendar, of `Liberatio s Ierusalem` (15 July); and because of the rubric, in the temporal, for the procession on Palm Sunday (f. 67ʳ): `Hic est ordo processionis in ramis palmarum more sancti sepulchri Ierusalem`.

The entries in the calendar suggest a specific area in Southwestern France[151]; in the sanctoral, however, none of these local French saints are present and its appearance

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[149] Hamilton 267-8, 270.

[150] H. Delehaye, `Saints de Cypre`, *Analecta Bollandiana*, 26 (1907), 161-301, at 252.

[151] Sulpicius (17 Jan.), archbishop of Bourges, Eutropius (30 Apr.), bishop of Saintes, Austregesilus (20 May), archbishop of Bourges, Ausonius (22 May), bishop of Angoulême, Anianus (14 June), bishop of Orléans, Caprasius (20 Oct.), martyr of Agen, Paulus (12 Dec.), bishop of Narbonne.

is that of a sanctoral of the Holy Sepulchre without the festivities specifically related to the church of the Holy Sepulchre itself. The only notable local entries are related to Naples: Herasmus (2 June), bishop of Formies, Nicander and Marcianus (17 June), patron saints of the diocese of Venafro, and Germanus (30 Oct.), bishop of Capua. Alexander IV appointed Thomas Agni of Lentino, Dominican prior of Naples, as legate *a latere* to Acre and bishop of Bethlehem in 1258[152]. Thomas played a key political, diplomatic, and ecclesiastical role in dealing with the crisis caused by the Mongol advance into Syria in 1260 and the protracted war which arose in 1256 between Venetian and Genoese merchants (war of St Sabas). Even in ecclesiastical terms he was the highest authority, as the current patriarch, Jacques Pantaleon, was in Rome and never returned to Acre. When Jacques Pantaleon was elected pope in 1261, he appointed William, bishop of Agen (1247-1263)[153], new patriarch of Jerusalem and eventually recalled Thomas, who all this time had been acting as head of the Church of Jerusalem, in 1263, to be his vicar in Rome. Thomas was again in Acre from 1272, when he was appointed patriarch (1272-7).

This missal was composed during the patriarchate of William II of Agen (1262-70). Not unusually for the manuscripts produced in the Holy Land, the structure of the book desplays a composition from multiple sources. It is likely that when a missal was ordered by the new patriarch William, it was used as a model a text circulating during the period of Thomas' legatine authority as the entries related to Naples in the sanctoral would suggest, while in the calendar were introduced all the festivities associated with the new patriarch, of which some also received an additional entry into the sanctoral[154].

[152] Hamilton 269, 276-7.

[153] Gams 479; Eubel I 214.

[154] In the sanctoral, in the lower margin of f. 141[rb], has been added the mass for the translation of S. Exuperius (14 June), bishop of Toulouse; the same hand has added, in the lower margin of 143[r], the mass for the translation of S. Saturninus (25 June) and, in the lower margin of 163[ra], the mass for the deposition of S. Saturninus.

Manuscripts from Cyprus

The Latin Church of Cyprus was organised by Celestine III with a bull of the 20th of February 1196 and it lasted until the Turkish conquest of the island in 1571[155].

To regulate the establishment of the Latin Church in Cyprus, the pope appointed as his representatives the archdeacon 'B.' of Laodicea and Alan, archdeacon of Lydda and chancellor to Aimery king of Cyprus[156]. Nicosia became the seat of the Latin archbishop, with three suffragan dioceses at Paphos, Lemesos, and Famagusta. The chapter of Nicosia, represented by clergymen who arrived in the island either with Guy of Lusignan (1192-1194) or later with Aimery (1194-1205), in 1196 elected Alan to be the first archbishop[157]. Lydda of course was a suffragan diocese of Jerusalem, so it is reasonable to assume that the first Latin archbishopric of Nicosia practised the liturgy of Jerusalem, even if the Latin Church in Cyprus was made direct subject to the Holy See.

The kingdom of Cyprus was united with that of Jerusalem under Aimery from 1198 to 1205, then again from 1268 with Hugh III (1267-1284). However, even when they were two separate kingdoms, the ecclesiastical connection between Cyprus and Jerusalem was uninterrupted, as proven by the records attesting in 1267 to the visitation of the Church of Cyprus by the patriarch of Jerusalem William of Agen[158]. The existence of the three liturgical books of the Holy Sepulchre made in fourteenth century Cyprus, combined with the information we have on the ecclesiastical history of the island, proves that the Latin Church of Cyprus, on its establishment, adopted the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem.

The addition, in **Ang477**, of the mass for the vigil of S. Acatius[159] in a twelfth-century hand, in **BL2902** of the mass for the saint himself in a thirteenth-century

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[155] Hill II 13, 46 and III 950-1037; Coureas 3-4 and 60; on the difficult relationship between the Latin and the Greek Church on the island see Hill III 1041-1104; Coureas 251ss.

[156] R. Hiestand, *Papsturkunden für Kirchen im Heiligen Lande*, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, 136 (Göttingen, 1985), 352-4 no. 173.

[157] Hill II 46-8; Coureas 4 and 60.

[158] Hill II 79 and 159.

[159] Delehaye 257: probably an erroneous transcription for Isaac, bishop of Site(?) in

hand, and in the calendar of **BN10478** of Scilominus (21 Nov.), shows the minimum of attention to the local Cypriot hagiographical tradition since the insertion of Cyprus in the ecclesiastical map of the Holy Land in the late twelfth century. It should also be noticed that the presence of Hilarion (21 Oct.) and Sozomenus (21 Nov.) in **Monreale**, a breviary produced in the late sixteenth century in Malta for the Hospitallers, shows that the minimum of adaptation occurred to the sanctoral of the Holy Sepulchre at the time of the establishment of the Latin Church in Cyprus, ~consolidated since the move of the patriarchs of Jerusalem to the island after 1291~ had become part of the liturgical tradition of the Holy Sepulchre.

The loss of Acre in 1291 marked the end of the crusader states and an emergency move to Cyprus, the sole outpost of western Christendom in the eastern Mediterranean. The Templars and the Hospitallers established their headquarters in the island, as did many of the other religious communities[160]. From there a new, permanent, location was chosen among the European possessions held by each of the religious foundations. The monks of the abbey of the Valley of Josaphat and those of Sta Maria Latina settled permanently in Messina, Sicily, in the churches of Sta Maria Magdalena and Sta Maria Latina[161]. The members of the chapter of Mount Sion, after an initial move to the church of the Holy Spirit in Caltanisetta, Sicily, established themselves from the fourteenth to the nineteenth century in the collegiate church of St Samson in Orleans[162]. The canons of Templum Domini found refuge in Bari, Apulia, in the church of St Clemente, one of their Italian possessions. Apparently the canons of the Mount of Olives, who had already lost their church in 1186 when it was conquered by Saladin, did not move to Europe.[163] The majority of

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Cyprus, as given in the *Sinaxarius Costantinopolitanus* (coll. 63-4 and 951) and in other Greek Menei; see also 'Acacio' in *BS* I 140.

[160] P. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191-1374* (Cambridge, 1991), 101-2; the Carmelites were apparently the only Latin order which had already settled in Cyprus, around the middle of the thirteenth century; see Hill II 25.

[161] K. Elm, 'Mater Ecclesiarum in exilio. El Capítulo del Santo Sepulcro de Jerusalén desde la Caída de Acre', *La Orden del Santo Sepulcro. I Jornadas de Estudio. Calatayud - Saragoza, 2-5 de abril de 1991* (Madrid, 1991), 13-24, at 14.

[162] *ibid.*

[163] *ibid.* n. 7 and see A. Storme, *Le Mont des Olives* (Jerusalem, 1971), 62-4.

the Latin dioceses had already terminated their existence after 1187; and whereas the series of bishops was continued *de iure*, with the election of titular bishops, the chapters which used to be attached to the churches ceased to exist[164], with the exception of Nazareth, Bethlehem and the Holy Sepulchre. The chapter of Nazareth followed their bishop to Barletta, Apulia, in the church of St Mary of Nazareth. The chapter of Bethlehem left the bishop and eventually converted itself into the mendicant order of the Fratres Betleemitani, Stellati, or Fratres cum cruce et Stella, who lived according to the rule of S. Augustine and modelled their customs to those of the Dominicans.

The last patriarch of Jerusalem who actually lived in the Holy Land was the Dominican Nicholas of Hanapes (1288-1291), who died as he was leaving Acre under siege, in 1291[165]; his successor, the Dominican Raoul II of Granville (1294-1304), who had previously been the provincial prior of the Holy Land, is first mentioned in 1294, but was probably patriarch from the end of 1291[166]. Although it is not clear where he spent the ten years of his patriarchate, according to Elm he went to Cyprus where he joined the canons of the cathedral church of Sta Sophia in Nicosia[167]. However, according to Hill, the patriarchs lived in a house in the Citadel of Nicosia, adjoining the Dominican monastery. To support themselves, the patriarchs were given the administration of the see of Lemesos, which carried with it exemption from the jurisdiction of the metropolitan at Nicosia[168].

The chapter of the Holy Sepulchre, however, faced with the obvious option of joining the patriarch and the canons of Sta Sophia, or moving to one of their European priories, rather surprisingly chose to move to Perugia, where they settled in the church of San Luca[169]. This event, which saw the separation between the

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[164] *ibid.* 15; see Riley-Smith, *Latin Titular Bishops*, 1-15.

[165] Hamilton 278.

[166] L. de Mas Latrie, `Les patriarches latins de Jérusalem', *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, 1 (1893), 16-41, at 27.

[167] Elm, `Mater Ecclesiarum', 15.

[168] Hill II 193.

[169] O. Gurrieri, *La Chiesa di San Luca Evangelista del Sovrano Ordine di Malta* (Perugia, 1973); K. Elm, *Perugia come Gerusalemme. S. Luca sede del Capitulum canonicorum regularium SS. Sepulcri Dominici Hierosolymitani (c.1291-1489)*, in press. It has been suggested that the choice of Perugia might have reflected the

patriarch and his immediate chapter, determined the rise in independence and power of the chapter of the canons of the Holy Sepulchre in Perugia, which now effectively became the archpriory among the many priories of the Holy Sepulchre across Europe. However, because of this situation, those same priories[170] led a more and more independent life, creating their own new canonical organizations, and ultimately becoming independent communities. So much so that, when in 1489 Innocent VIII, with the Bull *Cum solerti*, suppressed the chapter of the Holy Sepulchre and transferred its possessions to the order of St John, while the canons of Perugia capitulated[171], most of these other foundations, with the support of the secular power of their respective countries, managed to survive[172].

We have seen how manuscripts produced in Acre, like **Barletta** and **Perugia** were brought to Italy to be used by those very communities of canons of the Holy Sepulchre which decided to settled there. However, the evidence provided by a group of manuscripts which present the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre and were produced in Cyprus strongly suggests how, for at least another century, the archbishopric of Nicosia kept alive the tradition of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem. **Wand** was written in Cyprus for the Latin canonical community of Bellapaïs. **Chant1076** was also written in Cyprus, either for an individual or a community

desire of the canons of the Holy Sepulchre to be as close as possible to the papal curia, at that time in Orvieto, to try and influence Nicholas IV and his plans for a new crusade. For a wider analysis of the apparently surprising decision of the chapter to move to Perugia see Elm, 'Mater ecclesiarum', 15-19.

[170] Barletta and Piazza Armerina in Italy, Calatayud, Barcelona, and Logroño in Spain, Warwick and Thetford in England, Miechòw in Poland, Prague in Bohemia, Komploss and Glogovnice in Hungary, Denkendorf in Germany and La Vinadière in France.

[171] The community of the canons of the Holy Sepulchre of San Luca in Perugia was dissolved in 1506; see Elm, 'Mater ecclesiarum', 19.

[172] Elm, 'Mater ecclesiarum', 16-24; the favour shown by Frederick III, his son Maximilian, as well as by other European leaders obliged Alexander VI, in 1497, to annull as far as possible the decision of his predecessor. Therefore the possessions of the order not yet incorporated by the Hospitallers continued to exist; see K. Elm, 'L'Ordre des chanoines réguliers du Saint-Sépulcre de Jérusalem', in A. M. Courtieu-Capt and E. Gilomen-Schenkel, *Die Antoniter, die Chorherren von heiligen Grab in Jerusalem und die Hospitaliter vom heiligen Geist in der Schweiz*, Helvetia

associated with the Holy Sepulchre. Finally **Parma** has to be connected with the chapter of Sta Sophia of Nicosia, as well as to the royal entourage of Peter I, king of Jerusalem and Cyprus. What these three manuscripts have in common is their conformity to the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre, with the introduction of the veneration of a few Cypriot feasts, attesting therefore to the minimum of adaptation to the local liturgical environment, but most notably, a continuation of the tradition of the Holy Sepulchre in its more representative, Jerusalem, form.

1.16 St Wandrille, Bibliothèque de l'Abbaye, ms. P. 12 (1308-15)

Wand is a breviary which was written in Cyprus between 1308 and 1315. The date can be established by the inscription in the calendar, in the original hand in red ink, of the obituary note of Guy of Ibelin[173], a grandson of the homonymous constable of Cyprus († after 1255), who died on 8th of September 1308 and was buried in the convent of Bellapaïs[174]. The *terminus ante quem*, 1315, is given by the date of death of his wife, the only daughter of Baudouin de Vitzada, Isabelle of Ibelin[175], whom he married in 1303, and whose obit would probably have been inserted, had the manuscript been written after that date. The calendar of this manuscript was first mentioned by Le Quien[176], who also dated it to 1308-1315, clearly in consideration of the obituary dates of the Ibelin couple. However, Le Quien's information was misinterpreted by Kohler[177], who took it to refer to Guy, bishop of Famagusta (1298-1308), in so doing influencing later scholarship. Guy of Famagusta lost his bishopric in 1308, being deposed by Amaury and replaced by Antonius Sauranus; he

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Sacra, IV/4 (Basel and Frankfurt a. M., 1996), 137-44, at 140.

[173] W. H. Rudt de Collenberg, 'Les Ibelin au XIIIe et XIVe siècles. Généalogie compilée principalement selon les régistres du Vatican', *Epeteris tou Kentrou Epistemonikon Ereunon*, 9 (1979), 117-265; repr. in W. H. Rudt de Collenberg, *Familles de l'Orient latin XIIe-XIVe siècles* (London, 1983), IV 185.

[174] Rudt de Collenberg 186.

[175] F. Bustron, *Chronique de l'île de Chypre*, ed. R. de Mas Latrie, Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France. Mélanges historiques, 5 (Paris, 1886), 1-531, at 176 where Guy's wife is mistakingly called Marguerite, the name of their daughther, who married in 1319 another Guy of Ibelin († after 1350); see Rudt de Collenberg pl.V.

[176] M. Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, 3 vols (Paris, 1740), III col. 1220.

[177] Kohler 384-5.

died in 1312[178]. Moreover, had the Guy of Ibelin mentioned in the obituary note been a bishop, the title would not have failed to appear; finally, had Guy bishop of Famagusta been an Ibelin, the tradition would not have failed to report a bishop among the lineage of the family.

The church of Bellapaïs, which is earlier than the fourteenth-century monastic buildings, was begun, probably as early as 1192, by Regular Canons who were allowed in 1206 to adopt the Premonstratensian rule[179]. Hugo[180] says that Hugh III (1267-1284) brought Premonstratensians from Jerusalem and placed them in the monastery. As Hill points out, he may have brought members of the order from Palestine, but the order was at Bellapaïs long before this time. The obituary entry for Guy of Ibelin, clearly a benefactor of the order, suggests that this breviary was owned by the canons of Bellapaïs, and that they practised the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem, certainly in use since the arrival of canons from Jerusalem in the thirteen century, but probably even before, since it is most likely that the first canons who established themselves at Bellapaïs in the late twelfth century were coming from within the patriarchate of Jerusalem.

The rubric explicitly states (f. 109[b]): 'Incipit breuiarium legendi et canendi secundum usum et consuetudinem sancti Sepulchri'. Other references to the liturgical performance on the festivity of the Annunciation by Arnulf (f. 596[a]): 'Arnulphus patriarcha precepit per summam obedientiam cantare. Te deum...', and to the procession performed on All Souls day (f. 740[b]): 'Post capitulum vadit processio ad ecclesiam que dicitur Cheldemach canere responsoria deffunctorum', suggest that the manuscript was copied from an ordinal of the Holy Sepulchre, as these are the rubrics found in **Vat659** and **Barletta**.

The calendar and the sanctoral contain all the feasts of Jerusalem, and, most importantly, the chant repertoire is in its entirety that of the Holy Sepulchre. Only the litanies do not contain the saints of Jerusalem, neither are they followed by the

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[178] Gams 439; Eubel I 254; Rudt de Collenberg 235-6.
[179] Hill II 26-7; Coureas 200-4.
[180] C. L. Hugo, *Sacri et Canonici Ordinis Praemonstratensis Annales*, 2 vols (Nancy, 1734-6), I col. 651; Hill II 26-7.

petition for the patriarch, but we have seen how this feature disappeared with the move to Acre.

S. Francis and S. Dominic appear in the calendar, while only Francis is in the sanctoral, although with a prayer only, not the full office. Francis again appears twice in the litanies, while Dominic does not. However, on ff. 822-39 are added the offices for S. Peter Martyr, Dominic, Francis, and Katherine. This suggests that feasts for the mendicant saints were not originally present in the exemplar, datable to the second half of the thirteenth century, but were added at the time of the composition of this manuscript. The entry in the sanctoral (f. 615^a) of Epiphanius ep et pont (11 May)[181], a saint buried in Cyprus, suggests a minimum of adaptation to the new environment .

Bernardo Sagredo, writing in 1562 to the Venetian Senate, tells of the shame surrounding the abbey of Bellapaïs, all in ruins, the services not mantained, all the brethren having wives[182]. Therefore already before the Turkish conquest the manuscript might have found more suitable users, probably Carmelites. Several additions to the calendar have been entered in a fourteenth/fifteenth-century Carmelite hand, which betrays an Italian origin in the spelling of names like `Felisis', `Euzepii', `Ambrozii', and `Grasiani'. By 1465 the manuscript was in the Carmelite convent of Bologna, where a certain number of other entries were added. The manuscript was still in Bologna in the seventeenth/eighteenth century, when a Carmelite hand of that period collated the text of the manuscript with the Carmelite Breviary of current use. However, the book must have been in France by 1740, when it is mentioned by Le Quien.

1.17 Chantilly, Musée Condé, ms. 1076 (1300-15)

Another manuscript which was written in Cyprus for a community, or an individual, associated with the Holy Sepulchre is the breviary Chant1076. Despite the fact that

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[181] H. Delehaye, `Saints de Cypre', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 26 (1907), 161-301, at 235 and 242-3.
[182] B. Sagredo, *Report to the Venetian Senate*, in L. de Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre sous le règne de la Maison de Lusignan*, 3 vols (Paris, 1852-61), III 543-4; Hill III 1103.

the calendar is lost and that the end of the breviary is also missing, terminating with the commemoration of Hermes and Julian (28 Aug.), it can still be seen how the sanctoral presents all the Jerusalem festivities. The rubrics for both temporal and sanctoral explicitly refer to the Holy Sepulchre. The litanies are rather ordinary and again there is no petition for the patriarch. In the sanctoral, the office for Epiphanius ep et cf (11 May) betrays the Cypriot origin.

I agree with the date provided by Kohler[183], that this is a 1300-1350 ~~exemplar~~ copied ⊥ mAnu-ou pi from material dating to the second quarter of the thirteenth century. Certainly the

[Chusli] absence of the Feast of Corpus ~~Domini~~[184], established in 1264 by a pope who had been patriarch of Jerusalem, and of S. Dominic, canonized in 1234, would confirm Kohler's date. Unfortunately we do not have the section of the proper of saints for the month of October where S. Francis, canonized in 1228, would have been a good indication. However, Francis and Dominic would have appeared in the litanies if they had been present in the sanctoral. Paleographically, moreover, **Chant1076** appears to be very close to **Wand**, in particular in the style of decoration and musical notation; the script, in a different hand, also Italian, is slightly earlier, probably from the very beginning of the fourteenth century. This manuscript should therefore be dated to 1300-15, retaining 1315, *terminus ante quem* of **Wand**, also for this breviary.

1.18 Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, mss. Palatini 185/6 (1359-65)

Parma is a breviary copied in Cyprus between 1359 and 1365. The breviary itself presents the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre, with a minimum of adaptation to the festivities of Cyprus. Its calendar, however, not only does not include the saints of the Holy Sepulchre, but it clearly presents the proper of saints of Reggio Emilia[185].

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[183] Kohler 490.

[184] The feast of Corpus domini, celebrated on Thursday following the Sunday of the Holy Trinity, was instituted by Urban IV on 11th of August 1264; see M. Rubin, *Corpus Christi. The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1991), 164-212.

[185] P. Golinelli, *Culto dei santi e vita cittadina a Reggio Emilia (secoli IX-XII)*, Biblioteca (Deputazione di storia patria per le antiche provincie modenesi), n.s., 53 (Modena, 1980), 29-34, a list of feasts found in two lectionaries from Reggio Emilia,

In the sanctoral, on f. 90rb appears Epiphanius ep et cf (11 May), the saint buried in Cyprus; on f. 92vb Yvo cf, probably Yvo of Chartres[186] (20 May), with inhabited initial and gilt border, and with suffrages to him on f. 267ra; on f. 100rb Barnaba (11 June): the rubric specifies that according to the Church of Cyprus Barnaba has a vigil and an octave in recognition of the fact that according to tradition he was born and received martyrdom in Cyprus. On f. 209ra there is Hilarion of Gaza (21 Oct.), monk of the fourth century, who apparently spent the last five years of his life on the island, where there is a fortress named after him which was built by the crusaders. He often appears in the icons together with Barnaba and they are both considered as patron saints of the island[187]. On f. 220vb can be found Sozomenus and his brother Sotiormenus (21 Nov.)[188].

Barnaba patron saint of the island, is present in the litanies among the apostles and disciples, where he does not always appear. Yvus, Epiphanius, and Sozomenus close the series of confessors, monks, and hermits. The petitions after the litanies do not include the prayer for the patriarch.

The rubric for the office of the Cypriot saints Sozomenus and Sotiormenus (21 Nov.) contains revealing information for the dating of the manuscript and its provenance, as well as for the apparently unusual presence of a calendar from Reggio Emilia. The rubric reads:

'Ss cff Sozomeni et Sotiormenis, quod celebratur die xxi mensis nouenbri ad deuotionem domini et domini illustri prosapia geniti Petri dei gratia Ierusalem et Cypri regis'.

of the twelfth and thirteenth century, now kept in the Chapter Archive of San Prospero di Castello, Reggio Emilia.

[186] *BS* VII 994-7.

[187] H. Delehaye, 'Saints de Cypre', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 26 (1907), 161-301, at 241-2, 286; *BS* VII 731-35.

[188] Delehaye 252 listed as unknown; not in *BS*; it appears, as 'Scilominus', in BN10478; 'Zyzonimus' is mentioned among the saints venerated in Cyprus in the description of the island provided by Ludolphus de Suchen, *De Itinere Terrae Sanctae*, ed. F. Deycks, Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins, 25 (Stuttgart, 1851), 30.

Peter I (1329-1369) was king of Jerusalem and Cyprus from 1359 to 1369[189]. Peter I's physician and adviser in Nicosia was Guido da Bagnolo (now Bagnolo in Piano, Reggio Emilia)[190]. This breviary was, I believe, made for Guido da Bagnolo, who was not only a learned man, a physician, and a diplomat, but, as we will see, a canon attached to the church of Sta Sophia of Nicosia.

Guido was born in about 1320/5 from a noble and wealthy family. His father was Philippinus Ferrari de Scopolis de Bagnolo, a notary in Reggio Emilia[191]. Very likely Guido studied and began his profession in Bologna. However, both before and after joining the court of Cyprus he spent a long time in Venice, where he was listed in 1353 among the physicians of the Confraternità of Santa Maria della Carità, and where in 1360 he obtained Venician citizenship from the Doge of Venice, Giovanni Dolfin (1356-1361). He was a friend of Francesco Petrarc$. In fact Guido's Aristotelianism, intended as study of natural philosophy[192], occasioned the author's writing of *De sui ipsius et multorum ignorantia*[193].

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[189] Hill II 308-69.

[190] For this and the following information related to the life and activites of Guido da Bagnolo see R. Livi, `Guido da Bagnolo, medico del re di Cipro', *Atti e memorie della Deputazione di storia patria per le antiche provincie modenesi*, ser. 5, 11 (1918), 45-91.

[191] G. Tiraboschi, *Biblioteca modenese o Notizie della vita e delle opere degli scrittori natii degli stati del...duca di Modena*, 6 vols (Modena, 1781-6), I 134.

[192] According to Kristeller, `Averroist' and Aristotelian tendencies, partly derived from Paris, appeared at the Arts faculty of the University of Bologna before the end of the thirteenth century and were carried on without interruption throughout the first half of the fourteenth century; see P. O. Kristeller, `Petrarch's "Averroists": A Note on the History of Aristotelianism in Venice, Padua, and Bologna', in *Mélanges Augustin Renaudet*, Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 14 (Geneva, 1952), 59-65, at 64-5.

[193] Petrarc$'s work originated from his discussions with Guido, Tomaso Talenti († 1403; *DBI* XXVIII 322), Leonardo Dandolo (1326-1406; *DBI* XXXII 482-5), and Zaccaria Contarini († 1388; *DBI* XXVIII 319-25). Their names were found in a contemporary gloss to a fourteenth-century manuscript of the *De sui ipsius et multorum ignorantia* from the library of SS. Giovanni e Paolo (now Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Cod. Marc. lat. VI, 86 [=2593]). Petrarc's text: `Ut primus litteras nullas sciat (nota tibi loquor omnia), secundus paucas, tertius non multas, quartus vero [Guido] non paucas, fateor, sed perplexas adeo tamque incompositas, et, ut ait Cicero, tanta levitate et iactatione, ut fortasse melius fuerat nullas nosse'; see *Petrarque, Le traité "De sui ipsius et multorum ignorantia"*, ed. L. M. Capelli, Bibliothèque littéraire de la Renaissance, 6 (Paris, 1906), 24 and F. Petrarca, *De*

Guido, who died in 1370, was buried in the church of the Frari. By 1360 he had already been appointed as the physician of Peter I king of Cyprus, on behalf of whom he acted in important diplomatic missions. In particular, his mission, in 1365, together with the patriarch of Constantinople, the Carmelite Petrus Thomas or Thomasius (1364-6)[194], to try to conclude a peace treaty between the king of Cyprus and Genoa[195] should be remembered. It gained for him the gratitude of the pope, Urban V, who, with the Bull dated 23 April 1365, authorised Guido to exchange his canonry within the cathedral of Nicosia with another one in the church of Modone in Greece. This manuscript should be dated between 1359, kingdom of Peter I, and 1365, date of the exchange of Guido's canonry in Nicosia with that in Modone, as it is more likely that his breviary was made during the time he was actually attached to the church of Sta Sophia.

He left two wills, one, in Reggio Emilia in 1349, probably just before his first trip to Cyprus, and a second, in the church of Sta Sophia of Nicosia in 1362. In the second will are included a bequest to the Franciscan convent of Nicosia and Famagusta, and another to the Dominicans of Reggio Emilia, the return of a book of the Commentaries of Averroes to the Convent of the Franciscans of Nicosia, from which he had borrowed it, and above all a bequest to the University of Bologna to be used for the poor students from Reggio Emilia, to whom he also left all his books of medicine and philosophy. He is in fact responsible for the foundation, in Bologna, of a College for poor law students from Reggio Emilia, the Collegium Reggianum, as can be seen from the will which attests 'universi redditus dictarum possessionum (emendarum in districtu Bononiae) distribuantur pro anima mea inter pauperes

ignorantia. Della mia ignoranza e di quella di molti altri, ed. E. Fenzi (Milan, 1999), 188.

[194] Eubel I 214; _The Life of Saint Peter Thomas by Philippe de Mèziéres_, ed. with introduction and notes by J. Smet, Textus et Studia Historica Carmelitana, 2 (Rome, 1954).

[195] Hill II 312-16; _The Life of Saint Peter Thomas_, ed. Smet, 122-3 and 222-3. The mission of mediating between Cyprus and Genoa had been previously unsuccessfully attempted by Venice, in 1364, with the appointment, as ambassadors, of Francesco Bembo and Zaccaria Contarini, the latter being the friend of Guido da Bagnolo; see above note 39.

scholares'[196]. The inventory of his books however, only includes his scientific texts, therefore nothing can be gathered on the historical and literary books which certainly had to be part of the library of this eminent figure. How and when the breviary entered the Palatine Collection in Parma, I am unable to say; certainly the book must have been brought back from Cyprus together with the rest of Guido's belongings, if it was not already in Venice with him, at the time of his death.

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[196] C. Piana, *Nuove ricerche su le Università di Bologna e di Parma*, Spicilegium Bonaventurianum, 2 (Quaracchi, Florence, 1966), 433-9; C. Piana, 'Lo studio del diritto in Romagna nella seconda metà del sec. XV e la dominazione veneta a Ravenna e Faenza', in *Ravenna in età veneziana*, ed. D. Bolognesi (Ravenna, 1986), 207-25, at 220-1; see also R. Bernabeo, 'Di un antico Collegio studentesco in Bologna: il Collegio Reggiano', *Pagine di storia della medicina*, 11, no. 6 (1967), 56-61.

CHAPTER 2: EUROPEAN TEMPLAR MANUSCRIPTS

While, as we have seen, the Templars clearly adopted the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem and Acre, their liturgical practice in Europe appears to be a more complicated matter. By contrast with the wealth of Hospitaller books, the manuscripts that can probably be attributed to the Templars are very few, still fewer are those of which we can be certain.

So far we can rely only on the evidence provided by one manuscript certainly used by the Templar communities of Reggio Emilia and Modena, and by another which, on different grounds, can be claimed to have some relation with a Templar community in Cambridgeshire.

2.1 Modena, Biblioteca Capitolare, O.II.13

In the library of the cathedral of Modena is kept the `Missale vetus ad usum Templariorum' (O.II.13), an augmented sacramentary datable to between the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century. The manuscript preserves clear evidence of use by the Templars of Modena. Its provenance was rightly identified by Ludovico Antonio Muratori[1] in the eighteenth century, and by Ferdinando Bassoli, the archivist of the cathedral library, in 1818[2]. After that, the manuscript was described by Ebner in 1957[3], but with no reference to the Templar provenance. He actually states that the manuscript presents the use of Modena, because of the mention of S. Geminianus, patron saint of Modena, in the Canon. As a matter of fact, there is no mention of the saint in the Canon, and the Modenese saint is present in the sanctoral only, while his name has been added to the calendar by a later hand. Unfortunately, the liturgical repertoires which followed the work of Ebner[4], continued to omit any reference to the

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[1] L. A. Muratori, *Liturgia Romana Vetus*, (Venice, 1748), 86.

[2] F. Bassoli, *Indice dei codici sacri e profani che si conservano nell'archivio capitolare della cattedrale di Modena* (1818), a manuscript text kept in the library.

[3] Ebner 96-7.

[4] Bourque II,2 303 no. 327; *CLLA* 219 no. 1186; *CLLA/Suppl.* 121 no. 468; Grégoire 527.

Templars, resulting in the disappearance of this manuscript as valuable evidence of a liturgical book used by the Templars.

Modena O.II.13 is a sacramentary classified by Bourque as an augmented sacramentary or semi-missal, a transitional form between the pure sacramentary and the missal, which began to appear in the twelfth century. An augmented sacramentary usually contains, in addition to the prayers for each day of the liturgical year, both readings and chant repertoire, previously contained, respectively, in the evangeliary or lectionary, and in the gradual.

The sacramentary opens with the calendar, which presents several marginal and interlinear additions directly related to the users of the book. First there are the obituary notes of thirteen grand masters of the order of the Temple[5]. It is interesting to note how, among the obituary notes, Bernard of Tremelay is listed as third grand master of the order, not as fourth. The third grand master had been Everard des Barres (1149-1152), who in 1152 resigned his office to join the Cistercians of Clairvaux, where he was still living in 1172[6]. The thirteenth century Obituary Roll of the Templar house of Reims also does not include Everard des Barres and lists Bernard of Tremelay as third grand master[7]. As Barber points out, this may have been a deliberate omission, since he had resigned, or it may reflect the lack of information of the two commanderies with

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[5] 2 Jan. Bertrand of Blancfort, sixth grand master (1156-69); 13 Jan. Robert of Craon, second grand master (c.1136-49); 17 Feb. Andrew of Montbard, fifth grand master (1154-56); 3 Apr. Philip of Milly, Lord of Nablus, seventh grand master (1169-71); 11 July Hugh of Payns, first grand master (1119-c.1136); 7 Sept. William of Sonnac, eighteenth grand master (c.1247-50); 17 Sept. Bernard of Trémelay, fourth grand master (1153); 1 Oct. and 12 Oct. Gerard of Ridefort, tenth grand master (1185-89); 2 Oct. Arnold of Torroja, ninth grand master (1181-84); 5 Oct. Robert of Sablé, eleventh grand master (1191-1192/3); 9 Oct. Odo of Saint-Amand, eight grand master (c.1171-79); 13 Nov. Philip of Plessis, thirteenth grand master (1201-09); 21 Dec. Gilbert Erail, twelfth grand master (1194-1200).

[6] Barber, *The New Knighthood*, 71 and 347-8 n. 27.

[7] Paris, BN, ms. lat. 15054 (13th century), ed. É. de Barthélemy, *Obituaire de la Commanderie du Temple de Reims*, Collection des Documents inédits sur l'histoire de France. Mélanges historiques, 4 (Paris, 1882), 301-41, at 308 and 325; see also J.-L. Lemaître, *Répertoire des documents nécrologiques français* (Paris, 1980), no. 1704 and Legras-Lemaître 107-8 no. 1.

regard to Everard's death. However, the obituary notes of **Vat659**, while not recording an entry for Everard des Barres, correctly lists Bernard of Tremelay as fourth grand master. It is therefore likely that a combination of the two suggestions might be the reason for the omission of Everard des Barres in thirteenth century local Templar records.

On 14 July there appears the obituary note of Philip II († 1223), king of France; on 16 May: `Frater Petrus de Monte cuco olim pater istius domus et acquisitor 1292'. Pietro da Montecucco[8] was the rector of the Templar house of Modena situated by the bridge of St Ambrose from the time that that house was given to the Templars by Alberto Boschetti, bishop of Modena, on 14th of September 1262[9]. However, because of problems with the commune of Modena, which was reluctant to allow the Templars to settle in an area of such strategic interest, on the very border with Bologna, the Templars received possession of the hospice, house and church of St Ambrose only in 1271[10].

An even more unusual addition indicates the Templar usage of this book; on 12 May: `s Benuegnati, hic est reliquie'[11]. Around the end of 1270 the Templars of Perugia had built a church which they wanted to dedicate to S. Bevignate, a local hermit who was supposed to have lived on the land later acquired by the Templars. The consecration of the church needed the official recognition of the sanctity of Bevignate, and both the Templars and the commune of Perugia made various attempts to achieve this goal, without ever obtaining the desired result. Despite that, the local fame of the hermit was so great that according to the Statutes of Perugia for the years 1342/43 the day dedicated to the saint was

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[8] According to Trota 32 n. 13, Pietro belonged to the family of the Earls of Montecucco (today in the district of Ziano Piacentino), as it is stated in G. Mussi, *Chronicon Placentinum*, *RIS*, XVI 447-626, at 564-5: `Aliqui sunt comites, scilicet de Vidalda, de Bardi, de Montechuco, et de Bonifacio, qui omnes sunt una domus, et portant unum signum, excepto quod nuper illi de Montechuco supra addiderunt unam aquilam.'

[9] Modena, Archivio Capitolare, N. 26 DXCI-DXCII; full text in Dondi, *Missale vetus*, 360-3.

[10] See Dondi, *Missale vetus*, 345-50.

[11] *BS* III 153-4.

considered `feriato', a holiday for the law-courts criminal and civil[12]. This was the minimal form of official communal recognition of a saint. According to Kern, also, the feast was officially declared a public holiday, that is shops would be shut and work forbidden, on 22nd of April 1453, `licet ascriptus non sit in cathalogo sanctorum'. His feast was officially recognised in the Statutes of the commune only in 1609, clearly following the implicit recognition of Bevignate by the Congregation of Rites when it authorised the recitation of the proper of the saints of Perugia in 1605, where Bevignate appears on 14 May, and the translation of his relics to the cathedral in 1609[13]. The insertion of S. Bevignate in the calendar used by the Templars of Modena, obviously added before the dissolution of the order in 1314, is therefore a very interesting indication of the attention paid by a local Templar community towards the religious interests of other Templar communities.

But by far the most revealing information on the history of this sacramentary is to be found in the front endleaf. In the upper right-hand corner we find two ownership inscriptions with a list of liturgical books:

`Isti su[n]t libri d[e] Moçadelis, in p[r]imis un[um] misale | it[em] unu[m] antifonariu[m] noct[ur]nale[m] item unum | *** *** *** *** *** *** | *** *** *** *** *** | *** et domino(?) Ugolino de Savignano | dedit et *** ***'

In the upper left-hand corner:

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[12] *Statuti di Perugia dell'anno MCCCXLIII*, ed. G. degli Azzi, 2 vols, Corpus Statutorum Italicorum, 4, 9 (Rome, 1913-16), II 62.

[13] L. Kern, `A propos du mouvement des flagellants de 1260: S. Bevignate de Pérouse', in *Studien aus dem Gebiete von Kirche und Kultur. Festschrift Gustav Schnürer* (Paderborn, 1930), 39-53, at 43-52; F. Tommasi, `L'ordine dei Templari a Perugia', *Bollettino della Deputazione di Storia Patria per l'Umbria*, 78 (1981), 5-79; U. Nicolini, `Bevignate e Raniero Fasani', *Settimo Centenario della morte di R. Fasani, Atti del Convegno Storico. Perugia 7-8 dicembre 1981* (Perugia, 1984), 107-23; *Templari e Ospitalieri in Italia: la chiesa di s. Bevignate a Perugia*, ed. M. Roncetti, P. Scarpellini, and F. Tommasi (Milan, 1987); A. Vauchez, *La sainteté en occident aux derniers siècles du moyen âge*, Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 241 (Rome, 1981), 82, 85, 151.

'Isti su[n]t libri de Moçadelis in p[r]imis | [unum] misale | it[em] unu[m] antifonarium nocturnale[m] | it[em] unu[m] antifonarium *** | it[em] unu[m] ep[isto]lare | it[em] unu[m] salterium | it[em] unu[m] eua[n]gelistariu[m] | it[em] unu[m] ***'

In the centre of the page:

'Ad memoriam retine[n]dum fr[ater] He[n]ricus d[e] Flore[n]çola Arnaldus tu[n]c t[em]p[o]ris | capellanus dom[us] millitie te[m]pli d[e] Regio p[re]cepto et ma[n]dato fr[atr]is Albe[r]ti d[e] Canellis | tu[n]c p[re]cepto[r]is domor[um] millitie te[m]pli p[ro] Lu[m]ba[r]dia d[e]dit [et] tradidit fr[atr]i Pet[r]i d[e] Mo[n]te | cuco p[re]cepto[r]i dom[us] te[m]pli d[e] Motina unu[m] epistolare [et] unu[m] eua[n]g[e]listarium | [et] unu[m] antiphonariu[m] d[e] die et unu(m) missale cop[er]tu[m] d[e] *** parmilie q[uod] | missalle fuit dom[us] te[m]pli d[e] Regio. |

Item ad memoriam retinendum fr[ater] Ioh[ann]es d[e] Brix[i]am tu[n]c p[re]ceptor dom[us] te[m]pli d[e] Regio p[re]cepto | et ma[n]dato fr[atr]is Bla[n]ci d[e] Pigaçano domor[um] millitie te[m]pli in Ytalia Ge[ne]rallis p[re]cepto[r]is | in p[re]sentia do[m]pni Iacobi capelani domus de Regio et fratris Yacobi Granmagistri de Plaçençia | dedit tradidit et asignavit Bartolomeo nuntio fratris Petri de Motina unum antipho | narium de nocte et unu[m] [epistol]arium [et] unu[m] salteriu[m] pa[r]vulu[m]. It[em] una[m] planeta[m] | [et] unu[m] camixum et unu[m] ad chantu[m] nova [et] una[m] \\stolam// vermilia[m] et unu[m] manipu | lu[m] d[e] çendali¹⁴ çaldo [et] unu[m] çingulu[m] d[e] siricho [et] unu[m] turribulu[m] de auro *** | *** duas toallias d[e] *** unu[m] callice[m] d[e] stagno cu[m] patena [et] h[ec] o[mn]ia su[n]t | *** *** te[m]pli Moçadellis. Forma p[re]d[ic]ti fr[atr]is Bla[n]ci talis(?) est(?) | Blanco d[e]

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¹⁴ *Cendal* or *zendado* (with the many graphic variants cendax, cendex, cendel, cendalum, cendatum, etc.) was a precious silk fabric imported from the East and used in ecclesiastical furnishing, for which see F. X. Michel, *Recherches sur le commerce, la fabrication et l'usage des étoffes d'or et d'argent...pendant le Moyen-âge*, 2 vols (Paris, 1852), I 198-220 and W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au Moyen-âge*, ed. Furcy Raynaud, 2 vols (Leipzig, 1923), II 693-710, at 701.

Pigaçano domor[um] millitie te[m]pli in Lu[m]ba[r]dia tota *** | sad*** ***
*** in X^a (=presentia?) fr[atr]i Ioh[ann]i d[e] Brixia[m] dom[us] Regi
p[re]cepto[r]i | *** *** in d[omi]ne aetatem *** dom[us] d[e] Motina
***grato(?) libris et ornamentis *** | *** spatiu[m] recipie[n]do manda[vi]mus
q[uod] fr[atr]i Pet[r]o p[re]cepto[r]i ei[us]de[m] ecclesie *** | *** asig[na]tis
o[mn]es li[br]os [et] o[mn]ia parame[n]ta dom[us] Moçatellis q[ue] penes nos |
v[e]l *** dict*** p***otes p[redi]c[t]a o[mn]ia [et] sing[u]la in missali domus
Regii ***.'[15]

Despite the incomplete transcription, it can be gathered that Giovanni da Brescia,
preceptor of the Templar house of Reggio Emilia, in the presence of Bianco da
Pigazzano, preceptor general of the Templar houses in Lombardia, is giving to
Pietro da Modena a certain quantity of liturgical books and furnishings, listed in
detail in the first page of the missal for future memory, all of which previously
belonged to the Templar house of Reggio Emilia. It is known from Tiraboschi
that the first Templar house in Reggio Emilia had been built 'in curte Muzadelle'
before 1144.[16]

The document therefore refers to a period in which Pietro was preceptor of the
Templar house of Modena (by the bridge of St Ambrose), Giovanni da Brescia
preceptor of the Templar house of Reggio Emilia, and Bianco da Pigazzano
preceptor of Lombardy. This period can be circumscribed between the years

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[15] I am very grateful to Professor Albinia de la Mare, Professor Mirella Ferrari,
and Doctor Michelle Brown for their help in the transcription of the most
difficult parts of the document. The persons mentioned in the first half of the
document raise a few unsolved questions, as they do not correspond to the data
collected by the Templar historiography so far.

[16] Bramato 50-1; the only other source which mentions the Templar house of S.
Stephanus, in Reggio Emilia, is a document dated 7th of April 1144, now kept in
the Archivio Capitolare of Reggio Emilia. In the document we find that Alberto,
'prepositus canonicae S. Mariae ecclesiae Regiensis', rented 'casa templi que est
posita et costructa in Curte Mozadelle' and run by 'prior Guglielmus', a pecia of
land 'in Curte Rivalta' for 8 soldi 'danariorum lucentium' a year; see G.
Tiraboschi, Memorie storiche modenesi col codice diplomatico, 4 vols (Modena,
1793-4), III 17-8 doc. CCCLXXV and P. F. Kehr, Papsturkunden in Italien:
Reiseberichte zur Italia Pontificia, 6 vols, Acta Romanorum pontificum, 1-6
(Vatican City, 1977), V 377. I would not exclude the possibility of another
transcription of the toponym, which, in the ownership notes of the manuscript,

1271, when Pietro became effectively preceptor of the house of St Ambrose, and 1285, when Guglielmo Provincialis succeeded Bianco as general master of Lombardy.[17]

The Templars of Modena received effective possession of the hospice, house, and church of St Ambrose only after the General Chapter of the order held in Piacenza on 16th of March 1271, when the final agreement between Guglielmo di Alessandria and the commune of Modena was approved and ratified.[18] It is highly likely, I believe, that the handing-over of liturgical books and furnishings from Reggio Emilia to Modena occurred immediately after the acquisition of the new church, as the Templars would have needed these articles for worship. The document therefore suggests that the Templars followed one of the contemporary liturgical customs: that of the handing-over of liturgical manuscripts from one house to another within an order.

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and particularly that on f. 7^r, might be read as 'Moçarellis', that is Mozzarelli's or Muzzarelli's, a common surname in the Appenines of Reggio Emilia.

[17] Pietro da Montecucco was nominated rector of the house, hospice, and church by the bridge of St Ambrose by Alberto Boschetti, bishop of Modena, on 14th of September 1262, 'concedentes eidem plenam et liberam administrationem in spiritualibus et temporalibus', see Dondi, *Missale Vetus*, 360-3; Pietro is not mentioned among the participants to the General Chapter of the order held in Piacenza on 12th of Febrary 1268 (Archivio Storico Comunale di Modena, *Reg. Ant.*, no. 399, ff. 164^r-165^r, text in *Templari a Piacenza, le tracce di un mito. Catalogo della mostra maggio - luglio 1995* (Piacenza, 1995), 96-7), where is present Guglielmo da Alessandria, preceptor of the first Templar house of Modena, in contrada Masone, and deputed by Bianco da Pigazzano to deal with the commune of Modena in the ongoing contention with the commune of Modena; Pietro is instead among the participants to the General Chapter held in Piacenza on 16th of March 1271 (Archivio Storico Comunale di Modena, *Reg. Ant.*, no. 429, ff. 179^{r-v}, text in *Templari a Piacenza*, 97-100), and he is recorderd as 'preceptor domus templi de Mutina'. Giovanni da Brescia is recorded as preceptor of the Templar house of Reggio Emilia in both General Chapters. Bianco da Pigazzano was preceptor of the Templar house of Asti in 1244; in 1266 he was preceptor of the Templar houses of Piacenza and Milan, procurator of the houses in the area of Piacenza, and acting on behalf of the general master of Lombardy; on 27th of November 1270 he became preceptor of the houses in Lombardy, in 1282 he was gran preceptor of Lombardy and preceptor of the 'Balia' of Piacenza; while in 1285 the position of general master of Lombardy is held by Guglielmo Provintialis, see Bramato 90 n. 110.

[18] For the history of the Templars in Modena, see Dondi, *Missale Vetus*, 339-66 and Trota 29-44.

The identification of the provenance of the manuscript does not imply a recognition of the liturgical use of the manuscript itself nor of its proper origin. As has been mentioned above, the manuscript was identified as being used by the Templars by Ludovico Antonio Muratori who noted:

` Adservantur autem in Arch. Capituli Canonicorum Mutinensium gemini id genus (*i.e.* Gregorian Sacramentary) libri membranacei, ante annos sexcentos exarati. Alter ex his ad Equites, sive fratres Templarios spectasse mihi creditur, nam varios Kalendarii dies recentiori ac vario charactere haec nomina adscripta fiare... Pluris tamen faciendus est alter codex, quod rubricas missae tunc usitatae accuratius descriptas exhibeat. En ergo quid ex illo excerpendum credidi'[19].

Muratori went on to describe the *ordo missae* of the twin, *alter codex*, of Modenese use. It can be clearly identified as the sacramentary still in the Chapter library, ms. O.I.20, dating very likely to the first half of the twelfth century, and therefore earlier than O.II.13[20]. Muratori's claim of similarity between the two

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[19] L. A. Muratori, *Liturgia Romana Vetus* (Venice, 1748), 86.

[20] The manuscript is described in Ebner 97-8. Other twelfth-century Modenese sacramentaries are now in Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, ms. Parmense 996, and in Padua, Biblioteca Capitolare, B.25 (but according to the *Index codicum manuscriptorum* compiled in 1830 in manuscript form by Ferdinaldo Maldura, librarian of the Capitolare, it should be dated to *c*.1437). The `Missale Antiquum', Modena, Biblioteca Estense, ms. α. G.8.9, ascribed to Modena in the *Catalogo Ciocchi*, the typewritten catalogue of the manuscripts held in the library, is actually of German origin, probably from the diocese of Salzburg; see D. Fava and M. Salmi, *I manoscritti miniati della Biblioteca Estense di Modena*, Manoscritti miniati delle biblioteche italiane, 1 (Florence, 1950-), no. 209. The proper of the Church of Modena has not yet received a monographic study, despite the good amount of sources available; for the eleventh to the thirteenth century, in the Biblioteca Capitolare we find a `Liber cantus ad usum chori' of the eleventh/twelfth century (O.I.13), a `Rituale vetus' of the twelfth century (O.I.8), a gradual of the eleventh/twelfth century (O.I.7), a processional of the first half of the thirteenth century (O.I.16), a gradual-troper of the eleventh/twelfth century (O.I.25); and a `Missale parvum in quo continentur missae pro quibusdam diebus solemnioribus votivae et pro defunctis' of the thirteenth century (O.I.3); see the inventory of the manuscripts held in the Cathedral Library published by A. Dondi, *Il Duomo di Modena. Notizie storiche*

manuscripts rightly refers to the fact that they are both Gregorian Sacramentaries, but the similarity stops there. In the Modena Sacramentary S. Geminianus, bishop of Modena, is remembered in the calendar on the day of his vigil (30 Jan.), his feast (31 Jan.), the only entry in capital letters (f. 1ʳ), his first translation (16 June, f. 3ʳ), the consecration of his altar (8 Oct., f. 5ʳ); in the sanctoral he has a mass for the vigil (f. 113ʳ) and one for his commemoration, with title in capital letters and illuminated initial (f. 113ᵛ), while the memory of his translation has been added on f. 124ᵛ. He is mentioned again in the *missae communes* (f. 211ʳ) and, together with the BMV, as saint intercessor in the masses for the dead (f. 200ᵛ-201ʳ). On 12 July, moreover, is remembered the consecration of the new church by pope Lucius III in 1184 (`erectio ecclesie s Geminiani')[21].

In the Templar sacramentary S. Geminianus has been added to the calendar on 31 January; he appears with a proper mass in the sanctoral, but the text of the office differs from that of the Modena Sacramentary.

Regrettably, and unusually, the Templar sacramentary does not include the series of Alleluia verses for the Sundays after the octave of Pentecost, which are the best way to detect the liturgical use of a sacramentary or missal. Therefore the liturgical analysis of the text has to be conducted on the basis of the veneration of saints mentioned in both calendar and sanctoral. I start by saying that the

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ed artistiche (Modena, 1896), 271-83 and G. Ropa, `Sull'attività melico-liturgica delle "scholae" dell'Emilia-Romagna nei secoli X-XII', *Convivium*, n.s., 2 (1962), 129-46, at 135.

For a partial analysis of the proper, limited to the liturgy for the patron saint of Modena, S. Geminianus, see G. Pistoni, *San Geminiano vescovo e protettore di Modena nella vita, nel culto, nell'arte* (Modena, 1983), 279-304 and P. Golinelli, `San Geminiano e Modena. Un santo, il suo tempo, il suo culto nel Medioevo', in *Civitas Geminiana. La città e il suo patrono*, ed. F. Piccinini (Modena, 1997), 11-33.

[21] The same festivities can be found in the other twelfth century sacramentary from Modena, Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, ms. Parmense 996: 31 Jan *Geminiani* (red); 16 June *Translatio*; 23 July (Add:) *Consecratio ecclesie s Geminiani*; 8 Oct. *Consecratio s Geminiani*. The Templar Sacramentary does not include the feast for SS. Senesius et Theopompus (21 May), whose relics are held in Nonantola, and whose celebration is remembered in calendars from Modena (O.I.20), Reggio Emilia (Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, mss. Palatini 185/6, 14th c.), and Bologna (Rome, Bibl. Angelica, ms. 123, 11th c.).

correspondence between calendar and sanctoral is such as to suggest that the two items were written together.

Beyond the presence of the usual Gelasian and Gregorian saints, a considerable presence of diocesan saints venerated in Northern Italy can immediately be noted[22]. However, the overwelming characteristic is the veneration of saints closely connected with the diocese of Piacenza[23]: Savinus (17 Jan.), second bishop of Piacenza[24]; Victor (6 Mar.), deacon at the time of Maurus, third bishop of Piacenza[25]; Translation of the relics of S. Giustina (17 Aug.) to the cathedral of Piacenza[26]; Maurus (13 Sept.), third bishop of Piacenza[27]; Opilius (12 Oct.), Piacentine cleric during the time of S. Savinus[28]; Invention of the body of S.

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[22] Bassianus (19 Jan.), bishop of Lodi; Maurus (20 Jan.), bishop of Cesena, in the sanctoral only; Gaudentius (22 Jan.), bishop of Novara, in the sanctoral only; Geminianus (31 Jan.), bishop of Modena, present in the sanctoral but added to the calendar; Severus (1 Feb.), bishop of Ravenna, present in the sanctoral but added to the calendar; Albinus (1 Mar.), bishop of Vercelli; Vitalis (28 Apr.), martyr and patron saint of Bologna; Maximus (25 June), bishop of Turin; Apollinaris (23 July), bishop of Ravenna; Simeon (26 July), hermit of Polirone, added to the calendar with nine lessons; Eusebius (1 Aug.), bishop of Vercelli; Genesius (25 Aug.), bishop of Brescello; Alexander (26 Aug.), bishop of Bergamo; Evasius (2 Dec.), bishop of Brescia; Dalmatius (5 Dec.), martyr saint of Asti; Zeno (8 Dec.), bishop of Verona; Sirus (9 Dec.), bishop of Pavia.

[23] The historical basis of the following information, extracted from P. M. Campi, *Dell'historia ecclesiastica di Piacenza* (Piacenza, 1651-62) has not been verified, as our interest in them rely in being expression of local religious and ecclesiastical history. For a critical appraisal of Campi's work, see S. R. Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History in Tridentine Italy, Pietro Maria Campi and the Preservation of the Particular* (Cambridge, 1995).

[24] Campi I 65 col. 2-128 col. 2.

[25] *ibid.* I 141 col. 1.

[26] *ibid.* I 28 col. 1, 196 col. 2, 202 col. 2, 281 col. 1, 291 col. 1. Giustina of Antioch, martyr in Nicomedia; in 1001 her relics were brought from Rome to Piacenza and translated into the cathedral by bishop Sigifredus. Giustina is patron saint of Piacenza with S. Antoninus, see L. Canetti, *Gloriosa civitas, culto dei santi e società cittadina a Piacenza nel medioevo*, Cristianesimo antico e medievale, 4 (Bologna, 1993), 73-116.

[27] Campi I 125-40.

[28] *ibid.* I 119-144.

Antoninus (13 Nov.)[29]; Victor (7 Dec.), first bishop of Piacenza[30]; Victoria (23 Dec.), S. Savinus's sister[31].

Moreover, strong connections with Piacenza can be found for S. Brigida (1 Feb.), the Irish virgin, to whom a church had been dedicated, founded by bishop Donatus, of Irish origin, in 868[32]. Then there are Colombanus, Egidius, Eufemia, Florentius, Nazarius, founder of the Placentine Church according to Symeon Metafraste. We have only to read Campi's *Historia ecclesiastica* to multiply the links between this sacramentary and the proper of saints of Piacenza and the ecclesiastical history of the town[33].

It should be noted, finally, that among the saints addressed in the *Nobis quoque*, the prayer for intercession recited during the Canon of the mass, we find Faustina and Eufemia. The former was a virgin saint from Piacenza, the latter was from Chalcedonia. We read in Campi that in 1091 Eufemia's body was found in the church dedicated to her in Piacenza; subsequent to this event, Bishop Aldo restructured the church and celebrated the deposition of her body. Within the

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[29] *ibid.* I 27-49. Antoninus, martyr-soldier of the Thebean legion native of Piacenza, is patron saint of the city together with S. Giustina; for his cult in Piacenza see Canetti, *Gloriosa civitas*, 19-71.

[30] Campi I 52-63.

[31] *ibid.* I 141. Victoria is also remembered in the 'Notitiae fundationis' of the church of San Savino (Piacenza, Biblioteca Comunale, ms. n. 16, f. 44'), where it reads: 'Istam vero ecclesiam aedificaverunt Constantinus et Opinianus, qui de Roma fuerunt, ad honorem XII apostolorum quam consecravit beatissimus antistes Sabinus, cuius corpus hic requiescit cum quinque corporibus sanctorum. Ad suum latus dextrum requiescit sancta Victoria virgo, soror sua, quae fuit abbatissa de monasterio sancti Michaelis archangeli in civitate Placentia, quod fuit de omni genealogia sua...X Kal. Ianuarii migravit de hoc seculo beatissima Victoria...' edited in F. Neiske, *Das Ältere Necrolog des Klosters S. Savinio in Piacenza*, Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften, 36 (Munich, 1979), 118-9.

[32] Apparently a 'burgus' of the town was named after her; see Campi I 53, 215. On the cult of S. Brigida in Italy and in particular in Piacenza see S. Young, 'Donatus, Bishop of Fiesole 829-76, and the Cult of St Brigit in Italy', *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies*, 35 (1998), 13-26, at 15 and 23-6.

[33] For Macarius (2 Feb.) see Campi I 102; Agatha (5 Feb.) *ibid.* I 386 and 392; Apollinare (23 July) *ibid.* I 9; Nazarius (28 July) *ibid.* I 9-11; Germanus (31 July) *ibid.* I 136; Sixtus II (6 Aug.) *ibid.* I 49, 209; Egidius (1 Sept.) *ibid.* I 178; Donninus (9 Oct.) *ibid.* I 49; Florentius (17 Oct.) *ibid.* I 45, 65, 77, and 339; Columbanus (23 Nov.) *ibid.* I 168-71, and 273; Barbara (4 Dec.) *ibid.* I 236; Dalmatius or Dalmazzus (5 Dec.) *ibid.* I 325.

diocese of Piacenza, on 16 September Eufemia is celebrated with a double office[34].

There is no doubt that the sacramentary O.II.13 was originally written for the diocese of Piacenza[35]. Even more precisely, it was written for a monastic institution, as it appears from the grading of the calendar, with twelve lessons, marked for the months of November and December only, while the Templars were a canonical order, which had the custom of reading only nine lessons at Matins of Sundays and double feasts. Unfortunately it is not possible to establish when the manuscript moved to Reggio Emilia. None of the later additions to the manuscript can be directly connected to Reggio Emilia; moreover, neither the calendar nor the proper of saints records S. Prosperus, the patron saint of Reggio Emilia. However, given the fact that this manuscript had belonged to the Templars of Reggio Emilia and of Modena but that it has a Piacentine origin, it is, I believe, possible to infer that it belonged to the Templars of Piacenza in the first place.

Three conclusions can be drawn from the analysis of this manuscript:

First, there is no evidence of the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre in this manuscript: not in the sanctoral, not in the calendar, nor even in its additions.

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[34] *ibid.* I 363-4; see also Canetti, *Gloriosa civitas*, 117-23.

[35] A brief list of liturgical manuscripts from Piacenza should include the 12th c. 'Codice Magno' (Piacenza, Biblioteca Capitolare, ms. 65), for which see E. Pirani, 'Il codice piacentino n. 65 della Cattedrale di Piacenza', *Accademie e Biblioteche d'Italia*, 1-2 (1954), no. 1-2; E. Nasalli Rocca, *L'Archivio e la Biblioteca Capitolare della Cattedrale di Piacenza*, Fontes Ambrosiani, 30 (Milan, 1956), 259; G. Tammi, *Il calendario obituario del codice n. 65 della Biblioteca Capitolare di Piacenza* (Piacenza, 1958), 231-4; A. C. Quintavalle, *Miniatura a Piacenza. I, I codici dell'Archivio Capitolare* (Venice, 1963), 99; M. Huglo, 'Le graduel palimpseste de Plaisance (Paris, B.N. lat. 7102)', *Scriptorium*, 28 (1974), 3-31; *Piacenza, Biblioteca Capitolare 65. Printouts from an Index in Machine-Readable Form. A Cantus Index*, ed. R. Steiner, Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen LV/2, Musicological Studies LV/2 (Ottawa, 1993). A 13th c. psalter (Piacenza, Biblioteca Capitolare, ms. 51), for which see Tammi, *Il calendario*, 231-4; Quintavalle, *Miniatura*, 140-3. A 13th c. sacramentary (Piacenza, Biblioteca Capitolare, ms. 42). A breviary dated 1480 (London, British Library, Add. 35310), for which see Watson (BL) 373. For the sixteenth-century editions of the Piacentine Breviary see Bohatta, *Breviere*, 241 nos 2586-8 and Amiet, *Missels et bréviaires*, 280 nos 2586-8. For the sixteenth-

Secondly, as far as the adoption of liturgical texts is concerned, the relationship between Reggio Emilia and Modena on one hand, and Piacenza on the other, seems to be that of two daughter-houses with the mother-house, as was the case administratively, Piacenza being the most important Templar foundation in North-western Italy.

Thirdly, neither the Templars of Reggio Emilia and Modena, nor, probably, those of Piacenza adapted their manuscripts to reflect the liturgical use of the main Templar house in the Holy Land. This attitude is particularly striking, especially when related to the information collected from liturgical manuscripts used in European Hospitaller houses, which, as we shall see, without exception all adopted the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre.

2.2 London, British Library, Cotton Cleopatra B. III(3)

The evidence provided by the Templar Sacramentary from Modena, if unsupported by other cases, might be considered exceptional, coming from an isolated, marginal, situation. But the same deduction can be made from the examination of another, fragmentary, manuscript of Templar provenance: a twelfth-century calendar which is bound in a miscellaneous manuscript assembled by Robert Cotton in the first half of the seventeenth century (London, BL, Cotton Cleopatra B. III(3))[36].

Part three of the collection (ff. 36^r-69^v) consists of a computistical treatise (f. 36, 43^r-69^v), within which the calendar is inserted (ff. 37^r-42^v), and followed by nine leaves containing the Templar jurisprudence, or *retrais* (ff. 70^r-79^v). The codicological analysis of the two parts, calendar and computistical treatise on one hand, *retrais* on the other, suggests that they were bound together even before the present arrangement by Cotton. The measurement of the distance between the sewing holes, corresponding to a previous binding, is 35 mm. in both items. This information is validated by what we know about earlier provenance of these items. The signature of Henry Savile of Bank (1549-1622) appears in the lower

century editions of the Piacentine Missal see Weale-Bohatta 137 nos 790*-791* and Amiet, *Missels et bréviaires*, 58 no. 791.

margin of f. 36^r. Moreover, the two texts can be identified in the inventory of manuscripts owned by Savile[37].

The calendar has been already identified by Andrew Watson as in use within the diocese of Ely, in Cambridgeshire, as the entries for S. Etheldredra (23 June and 17 Oct., her translation), Sexburga (6 July), and Withburga (8 July) indicate. The Savile collection was put together with manuscripts mostly coming from the English monasteries suppressed by Henry VIII in the years 1538-40. Several of Savile's manuscripts belonged to monasteries in the North of England, Yorkshire in particular[38], but at least one other of Savile's manuscripts, later owned by Cotton, comes from Ely (London, BL, Cotton Vespasian D. XIX, ff. 53-70).

In Cambridgeshire there were three Templar houses, Denney, Duxford, and Wilbraham[39], which, from the time of the suppression of the order in 1314, had different histories. Of the three, Denney was the first to have been donated to the Templars; it previously had belonged to the Benedictines of Ely and was transferred to the Templars in around 1170[40]. The first mention of the preceptory of Duxford dates to 1273[41]. The church of Wilbraham was donated to the Templars by Bishop Nigel of Ely (†1169), and the donation was confirmed by Alexander III with a bull dated 17th of October 1173(?). Another bull, datable probably to the end of 1174, confirmed to the Templars the land given to them in

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[36] The volume was no. 292 in Cotton's library.

[37] London, BL, Add. 35213, f. 28^r: `[a] Practica medicinalis contra paralysem (unidentified). [b] Regula de Calendario cum quibusdam breuibus chronicorum notis (BL, Cotton, Vespasian, D. XIX ff. 71-82). [c] It[em] exquisita(?) regula et tabula de epacto bissexto embolysmo et allys huiusmodi (BL, Cotton Cleopatra, B. III(3) ff. 36-69). [d] It[em] quedam chronica de nominibus paparum imperatorum Regum Anglie et episcoporum a natiuitate sancti Iohannis Baptiste usque ad annum 1213 cum figuris prefixis pro unoquoque anno (BL, Cotton Vespasian, D. XIX ff. 53-70). [e] § Iohannes Michaelensis de concilio edito pro ordinibus militum secularium et commilitonum Christi et de nominibus patrum residentium in Concilio. qui ordo sumpsit initium Anno 1128 (BL, Cotton Cleopatra, B. III(4) ff. 70-9). 8°; see A. G. Watson, *The manuscripts of Henry Savile of Banke* (London, 1967), 53 no. 183.

[38] M. A. Hicks, `John Nettleton, Henry Savile of Banke and the post-medieval vicissitudes of Byland Abbey Library', *Northern History*, 26 (1990), 212-217, at 213ss.

[39] *VCH* II 260-3 and Knowles-Hadcock 293, 296, and 308.

[40] *VCH* II 259.

[41] Knowles-Hadcock 292.

Waterbeach. A third bull, dated 6th of May 1177(?) confirmed an agreement between the Templars and the monks of Ely regarding the churches of Kirkby, Wilbraham, and Wendy, and the area of Denney and Elmeney[42].

The arrest of the Templars and the forfeiture of their estates took place on 10th of January 1308, from which date until the 3rd of June 1309, John de Creke, sheriff of Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire, kept account of the manors in Denney, Wilbraham, and Duxford. Among the list of movables found by the sheriff at Denney, the present books were listed: 2 missals 'of the use of the Templars'; a *legenda* in two volumes, a glossed psalter, 3 other psalters, 2 antiphonals, an epistolar, 2 manuals, 3 graduals, and 2 tropers described as 'old'[43]. The books and ornaments of the chapel of Duxford were sent to Cambridge Castle; they consisted of one missal, an antiphonal, a legenda in two volumes, a psalter, a gradual, and troper with the ordinal[44]. On 3rd of June 1309 Duxford and Denney were committed to the chamber clerk Master Roger of Wingfield who, in 1310, was appointed keeper of all Templars' land in England, and they apparently remained in his hands until November 1313[45].

The bull of Clement V *Ad providam Christi vicarii*, dated 2nd of May 1312, ordered the devolution to the Hospitallers of the Templar property; the order was carried out in England on 28th of November 1313, when Edward II instructed his keepers to give up the land. On 21st of December 1313 the preceptories of Duxford and Wilbraham were handed over to Brother William de Sauston, for the use of the Knight Hospitallers[46].

However, Denney did not pass to the Hospitallers. In 1313 the estate was retained by the king, together with a few others, as a 'gift', the price of the

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[42] *VCH* II 259-62; Knowles-Hadcock 293 and *Records of the Templars in England in the Twelfth Century. The Inquest of 1185 with Illustrative Charters and Documents*, ed. B. A. Lees, The British Academy Records of the Social and Economic History of England and Wales, 9 (London, 1935; repr. Munich 1981), cxlv and 224-6.

[43] *VCH* II 260.

[44] *VCH* II 262; Knowles-Hadcock 262.

[45] A. M. Leys, 'Forfeiture of the Templars in England', *Oxford Essays in Medieval History presented to H. E. Salter* (Oxford, 1934), 155-63, at 158; see also *VCH* II 262 and Knowles-Hadcock 293.

[46] *VCH* II 263 and Knowles-Hadcock 296 and 308.

surrender of the rest, and it was eventually granted to the Countess of Pembroke[47].

The English Parliament dissolved the order of the Hospitallers in 1540 and conferred its properties on the Crown. It is likely that the calendar and the rule remained in the possession of the Hospitallers of Duxford or Wilbraham during the nearly two centuries which preceeded the dissolution of the order, and that, after that, they came into Savile's possession, either purchased, or acquired, from the new proprietors of the dispossessed estates.

The Templar provenance of the calendar would confirm the custom noticed with regard to the sacramentary of the Templars of Modena, that is the adoption of a local liturgical text, not adapted, even at a later time, to reflect the liturgical use of the main Templar house in the Holy Land. The cases of Modena and of the Templar house in Cambridgeshire both show a decentralised attitude as far as liturgical practice is concerned, in so doing probably reflecting a more general attitude to be found in the administration of the order as a whole. It can certainly be suggested that the liturgical component, within the order, was not perceived to be as determining and unifying a factor as it was to be the case for the Hospitallers.

There is another manuscript which has been assigned a possible Templar provenance, the psalter-hours, written in England c.1250, now in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge (ms. 246). In the calendar, English, the entries for the bishops of Jerusalem and for Cleopha have been recorded in the original hand. The office of the dead and the short office of the Virgin are those of the Holy Sepulchre. The litanies are English, and there is no mention of the patriarch nor of the master in the petitions which follow.

The obituary note, added to the calendar on 14 November, of `Domina Leona Domina Saii', in addition to the Jerusalem entries, suggested the Templar connection to the compilers of the Fitzwilliam catalogue. While the specific

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[47] Leys 160 n. 4 and 162.

identity of Leona Says has not been traced, the family is known to have left a manor to the Templars of London in 1213-14[48].

Apparently this manuscript would contradict the evidence gathered so far on Templar attitude towards liturgy, suggesting that the two manuscripts previously analysed were indeed representative of marginal Templar houses, while in London the connection with Jerusalem-Acre was retained. However, a few more considerations need to be taken into account. First, and most importantly, it is a book of private devotion, made for an individual and not for the use of an entire community. The inventory of Hospitaller manuscripts and early printed books contained in Appendix 3 of this work lists a number of books of hours which, while undeniably made for Hospitallers, do not reflect the liturgy practised by the order, but simply that of the place where the book was written or that of the text used as exemplar. Similarly we cannot assume that a book of hours made for a member of the Templars of London reflects the liturgy practised by the entire community.

Secondly, as it stands, the book reflects a liturgical use practised by Hospitallers and Carmelites as well. It would be important to find out whether the Says family had any connection with these orders too. Geoffrey de Say[49] (c. 1155-1230) went on pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1219, and in 1223 to Santiago[50]. He is the member of the Say family known to have given the above mentioned manor to the Templars of London. It is not unreasonable to suggest that he might have brought back from the Holy Land a book of hours which was later copied, in England, and partially adapted to an English use. Whoever the users of this book in England might have been, and I certainly do not exclude a donation of this book to the Templars together with the manor, it should be noticed that the short office of the Virgin, included on ff. 179ᵛ-189ʳ, presents a variant series which I

[48] *The Complete Peerage*, XI 471 n. K.
[49] *ibid.* XI 468.
[50] He was buried in the Hospital of St Mary Dover, to which he had given a manor.

have only found in Hospitaller texts and, I believe, was developed at a later stage within the Hospitaller tradition[51].

I have therefore listed the Fitzwilliam Psalter-Hours among the Hospitaller manuscripts and early printed books included in the inventory of Appendix 3.

A final consideration has to be made in connection with the identification of European Templar manuscripts. Certainly the paucity of extant exemplars can be partially explained by historical reasons, that is the dissolution of the order at the beginning of the fourteenth century[52], in rather difficult circumstances. However, the lack of liturgical uniformity may also be a substantial reason for the present scarcity of sources. In early times, Templar liturgical manuscripts which might have survived in the hands of the Hospitallers, who in many cases inherited them, would have been useless, because they did not contain the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre and were therefore eventually disposed of. In present times, the lack of specific liturgical characteristics to rely on for identification makes the identification of Templar liturgical books difficult and regrettably rare. The search ultimately has to rely on criteria external to the text, that is ownership and obituary notes, as the cases encountered so far have shown.

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[51] The variant consists in the replacement of the capitulum *Sicut cynamomum*, at None, with *In plateis*, which is found in the Roman use. The same variant is found in **BN1400**, **BL41061**, **OxfSJC131**, as well as in the Hospitaller Breviaries printed in 1517 and 1551 (**B1517** and **B1551**).

[52] The order was dissolved by Clement V with the bull *Vox in excelso* dated 22nd of March 1312. As we have seen above, with the bull *Ad providam Christi vicarii*, dated 2nd of May 1312, Clement V subsequently ordered the devolution to the Hospitallers of the Templar property.

CHAPTER 3: EUROPEAN HOSPITALLER MANUSCRIPTS AND EARLY PRINTED BOOKS

3.1 The Manuscripts

At the present state of research we do not have any liturgical manuscript from the Hospitaller mother-house in Jerusalem or Acre, nor from Limassol, where the order established its new headquarters in 1291 after leaving Acre[1]. However, from 1120, the date of the constitution of the priory of St Gilles, Hospitaller priories were established all over Europe[2].

The extant manuscripts which I have located come from Rhodes, Malta, and from various Hospitaller houses in Europe, and they were written from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century. To this list of manuscripts I have added the early printed books of the fifteenth and sixteenth century, as they are rich in details on the later history of the order and of its liturgy in particular. The range of books is also very varied, covering practically every type, including 4 antiphonaries, 14 breviaries, 5 calendars, 1 capitulary, 18 choral books, 1 collectary, 3 graduals, 1 gradual-prosary, 7 books of hours, 10 missals, 1 office of the dead, 1 pontifical, 2 processionals, 1 psalter, 1 psalter-hours, and 1 psalter-hymnal.

From the liturgical point of view they show (a) that there is absolute consistency with the use of the Holy Sepulchre as far as the chant repertoire is concerned; (b) a certain amount of variation from the sanctoral of the Holy Sepulchre to reflect

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[1] In 1309 the Hospitallers moved to Rhodes, which they had conquered, until they lost it to Sultan Suleiman in 1523. After temporary locations in Messina, Nice, and Viterbo, they were given Malta by Charles V, where they stayed until 1798, when Bonaparte expelled them from the island; the last grand master of the period, Ferdinand Hompesch (21st grand master 1797-99; † 1803), was eventually deposed and on 7th of November 1798 the knights of St Petersburg elected as grand master Paul I of Russia. He was killed in 1801, his successor, Bailiff Tommasi, was elected by the pope. In 1834 the order was given its Roman headquarter; see J. Riley-Smith, *Hospitallers. The History of the Order of St. John* (London and Rio Grande, Oh., 1999), 122-51.

[2] For a description of the priories and their dependences see Riley-Smith, *The Knights*, 353-9.

the sanctoral of the place where the Hospitaller community was established; (c) the presence of festivities strictly connected with the history of the order.

a. Consistency

The chant repertoire is entirely that of the Holy Sepulchre, with little or no variation. In particular the series of post-Pentecost Alleluia verses, which still fluctuated in the manuscripts of the Holy Sepulchre, presents in the Hospitaller books absolute uniformity. The Hospitaller series cannot be traced back to any of the variants we have encountered in the manuscripts from the Holy Sepulchre; however, the closest series is probably that of the ordinal Vat659.

The only noteworthy variation occurs in the short office of the Virgin, where in addition to the more typical Hospitaller use we find in certain manuscripts and early printed books a Roman influence, in the antiphon for None.

b. Variation

In the calendar, sanctoral, and litanies of certain manuscripts, the presence of local saints venerated in the area where the Hospitaller communities were established is evidence of a degree of adaptation to the local environment. This feature can be seen in manuscripts produced and used within the same geographic area[3]. In the group of manuscripts produced for the Haarlem commandery, for example, while the chant repertoire is that of the Holy Sepulchre, the calendars and sanctorals contain a number of local feasts[4]. Haarl184C1, in addition, also includes S. Arbogastus and S. Florentius, bishops of Strasbourg, suggesting that it was probably copied from a Strasbourg exemplar.

Another group of manuscripts revolves around the important Strasbourg commandery. The psalter-hymnal from Colmar written in the first half of the

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[3] In this chapter I refer to the characteristics noticed in manuscripts which, for their common features, can be grouped together. Information on each manuscript and printed edition can be found in Appendix 3.

[4] Translation of Lebuinus (26 June), patron saint of Zoeterwoude, Willibrordus (7 Nov.), patron saint of the dioceses of Utrecht and Haarlem, Servatius (13 May), bishop of Tongeren in the Low Countries, Odulphus (12 June), monk of Utrecht and parish priest of Staveren, and Cordula (22 Oct.).

fourteenth century, **Colm446**, the breviary from Freiburg datable to *c.*1471-73, **Freib56**, the fourteenth-century missal from Fribourg, **Frib91**, the fifteenth-century breviary of the Hospitallers of Strasbourg, **Stra7**, and the winter part of a breviary from a Castillian commandery datable to the second half of the fifteenth century, **Mun10111**, all include Strasbourg feasts in their calendars and sanctorals. S. Arbogastus has also been added to the fifteenth-century gradual-prosary, **Torino**, thus suggesting a use of this manuscript within the same area. Another common feature in these manuscripts from Rhineland and Switzerland is the presence of S. Oswald, king of Northumbria (5 Aug.)[5], whose cult spread into Germany and Switzerland because of the alleged presence of his relics in a number of places on the Continent: in **Colm476** and **Mun10111** Oswald is listed in the litanies among the martyrs, on f. 161^r and f. 81^r respectively. In **Frei56** he has an office with three lessons in the sanctoral, on f. 92^{rn}; in **Frib91** his feast has been added in the lower margin on f. 193^{rn}; Oswald is also present in the first edition of the Hospitaller Breviary, printed in Mainz, **B1480**, where he is listed in the litanies among the martyrs on [l$_{vii}$^{v}], and in the second edition of the breviary, printed in Speier, **B1495**, where he is listed in the litanies among the martyrs on h$_{ix}$^{r}, and it has an office with nine lessons in the sanctoral, on Q$_{viii}$^{v}.

Other Hospitaller manuscripts which preserve, in their sanctoral, an indication of a Germanic area of production and use are **DarmI/18**, **LondOSJ**, **Aosta**, and **BN1079**. **DarmI/18** is a breviary dated 1451, whose calendar includes saints venerated by the Hospitaller commandery of Burgsteinfurt, where the manuscript was used, and of Münster, within which diocese Burgsteinfurt lies. **LondOSJ** is an incomplete fifteenth-century breviary used by the Hospitallers of Frankfurt. It contains no calendar, but the temporal in full, and only the winter part of the sanctoral. The German origin of the content is noticeable only for the veneration of Ottilia (13 Dec.) on f. 198^{rn}, of Dorothea (6 Feb.) on f. 220vb, and of Apollonia

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[5] See E. P. Baker, `St. Oswald and his church at Zug', *Archaeologia*, 93 (1949), 103-12; ~~E. P. baker~~, `The cult of St. Oswald in northern Italy', *Archaeologia*, 94 (1951), 167-94; R. Folz, `Saint Oswald roi de Northumbrie: étude d'hagiographie royale', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 98 (1980), 49-74; P. Clemoes, *The Cult of St. Oswald on the Continent*, Jarrow lecture ([Jarrow], 1983); *Oswald. Northumbrian King to European Saint*, ed. C. Stancliffe and E. Cambridge (Stamford, 1995).

(9 Feb.) on f. 222rb. The sanctoral is otherwise typical of that of the Holy Sepulchre. **Aosta** is a missal dated 1455. We have no calendar, and the missal itself is incomplete as it breaks off on the feast of SS. Petrus et Paulus (29 June); therefore the rest of the sanctoral, the common of saints, and the votive masses are missing. However, the sanctoral is that of the Holy Sepulchre, with the feasts of Jerusalem. The only entry which provides some indication as to the place of origin is on f. 186^r *Decem milium martyrum* (22 June). This feast is found also in **Colm446, Frei56, Haarl184C1, Cam6652,** and in the printed books **B1480,** printed in Mainz, **B1495,** printed in Speier, and **M1505** printed in Strasbourg, all therefore from a Germanic area. The decoration and the script, a German textualis, also point towards an area of production in lower Germany, from which it found its way to the area of Aosta. Apparently already in the sixteenth century the manuscript was owned by the church of St Maurice, Sarra. We may remember that in Aosta there is also an exemplar of the 1505 Hospitaller Missal, owned by the parish church of Etroubles, Aosta, whose binding still preserves manuscript fragments in Latin and German.

BN1079 is a psalter-hours of the 14th century used by the Hospitallers of Aachen. In the calendar are included, together with the Jerusalem saints, the entry for the dedication of the cathedral of Aachen on 17 July and several German feasts. **Cam6652,** a breviary written in 1340 for the Hospitallers of Breslau, is the only Hospitaller manuscript which, for the opening of the breviary, has adapted to the Hospitaller use the typical opening of the ordinals of the Holy Sepulchre[6].

Among the manuscripts which present an English origin we find **BL1611,** a composite manuscript, whose first part includes a fourteenth-century psalter, with litanies, followed by the office of the dead, the office for S. Augustine, and the office for S. Eligius and his translation. The second part contains moral verses in French, a medical treatise, and the life of S. Margareta. As the

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[6] On f. 67^v it reads: 'Incipit uiaticus(?) id est de pluribus libris exceptis secundum antiquam institucionem legendi in omnibus ecclesiis ordinis Hospitalensium sicuti patres antiqui et priores predicti ordinis communi assensu parique uoto e bona discrecione at nullo contradicente firmiter tenere et habere pariter decreuerunt. Si autem aliquid defuerit in fine libri huius requiratur et inuenietur'.

manuscript stands now, there is no evidence that it is certainly a Hospitaller manuscript. The office of the dead could be ascribable to Sarum as well. The litanies have been erased and are now typically English Benedictine; but in the prayers which follow, while there is no petition for the master, can be found 'ut regularibus disciplinis', which would point towards a canonical, not monastic, institution. The office for S. Augustine would confirm regular canons, while the office for Eligius and his translation may better suggest a Carmelite provenance.

Among the Hospitaller manuscripts from the French area **BN1400**, a book of hours datable to *c*.1460, presents a calendar of the Holy Sepulchre, as filtered by the Cypriot tradition (see on 21 Oct. the entry for Hilarion of Gaza), but adapted to the Parisian sanctoral. The litanies, also Parisian, include nonetheless the petition for the master on f. 138^r. **BN1689** is probably the most peculiar Hospitaller manuscript. It is a missal datable to between 1330 and 1400, which presents a calendar and litanies of Autun, as is confirmed also by the opening of the temporal which reads, on f. 1ra, 'Hic incipit missale secundum usum Eduensem' . However, on f. 127ra can be found the petition for the master and the sanctoral contains the feasts of the Holy Sepulchre. In addition, the votive masses contain a 'Missa pro magistro' on f. 290ra and two masses 'Pro terra sancta' on f. 291rb and f. 297ra. Finally the list of post-Pentecost Alleluia verses presents a use which I have been unable to locate and which, while not corresponding either to the use of Autun or to that of the Holy Sepulchre, might probably be considered a variant of the use of the Holy Sepulchre.

c. Festivities connected with the Order

The attention of the order to liturgical issues can be noticed in the formulation of special offices and masses to celebrate saints and events related to the history of the order.

The feast of S. Pantaleon (27 July) began to receive a special commemoration within the order, as on that day, in 1480, Pierre d'Aubusson (1423-1503), grand

master of the Hospitallers[7], and his troops defeated the Turks who, headed by Mahomet II, had launched an attack against Rhodes[8].

The special commemoration of S. Pantaleon is first recorded in the first edition of the Hospitaller Missal printed in Strasboug in 1505, **M1505**, on K_1^r: ⅃ ℞ 'Panthaleonis m. Duplex festum ob insignem victoriam per reuerendissimum dominum Petrum Danbusson Cardinalem etcetera, magnum magistrum Rhodianorum contra Thurcos obtentam. Ad quod officium Innocentius VIII dedit indulgentias quinquaginta annorum.' The same rubric can be found in the manuscript missal from Haarlem dated 1511, **Haarl184C1**, on f. 273[r]. The text of the indulgence issued by Innocent VIII (1484-92) can be read on pp_{viii}^v of the 1551 edition on the Hospitaller Breviary, **B1551**[9].

By 1551, the date of the second edition[10] of the Hospitaller Missal, **M1551**, the new *ad hoc* full mass office for S. Pantaleon is fully developed and its text contains direct reference to the historical events surrounding the Hospitaller victory[11].

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[7] And from 1489 Cardinal Deacon of S. Adrianus; see *DC* 286-92; Eubel II 22.

[8] See E. Brockman, *The Two Sieges of Rhodes: The Knights of St. John at War 1480-1522* (New York, N.Y., 1969, repr. New York, 1995), 58-92.

[9] 'Forma absolutionis quae vtimur in festo sancti Panthaleonis propter indulgentias ipsius diei. Dominus noster Iesu Christe qui est verus sacerdos et summus pontifex per suam sanctam misericordiam te absoluat. Et ego authoritate domini nostri I.C. et beatorum apostolorum eius Petri et Pauli et ecclesie ac virtute priuilegij et indulgentiarum hic Rhodi et ceteris loci religionis hac die tibi concessa et mihi commissa te absolua; primo ab omni excomunicatione maiori vel minori si quam vel quas incurristi; deinde absoluo te ab omnibus peccatis tuis mihi confessis et contritis, ac etiam ab omnibus alijs criminibus quomodocumque per te commissis, quorum propositum habes si ad memoriam reduceres confitendi etiam te absoluo ab omni irregularitate, suspensione et interdicto, et alijs si que sint restituendo te sanctis sacramentis ecclesie et gremio eius. Ita quod ex omnibus his et alijs quibuscumque virtute predicti priuilegij sis plenarie absolutus. In nomine patris et filij + et spiritus sancti.'

[10] If we exclude the 1528 edition printed in Saragozza for the monastery of the Hospitaller nuns of Sigena. It is likely that, like their breviary, this missal contained a certain degree of adaptation to the Spanish environment.

[11] The text on N_1^r reads: 'Panthaleonis m. DU[plex Festum] propter indulgentias et victoriam ipso die contra Turchas Rhodum obsidentes habitam, ad missam... Or. *Deus qui b Panthaleonem tua fecisti virtute victorem, da nobis tuae propitiationis effectum, ut sicut illi celestis contulisti palmam triumphi, ita nobis eius intercessionis veniam largiaris. Per dominum nostrum.* Alia or. *Deus in te sperantium fortitudo, adesto precibus nostris, quas tibi cum gratiarum actione*

An illustration of the battle can be seen in the book of hours now in New York (Pierpont Morgan Library, Glazier Collection, ms. 55), made in the late fifteenth century for Pierre de Bosredont, grand prior of the order in Champagne. On f. 140ᵛ a full-page illumination of the battle is followed, on f. 141ʳ⁻ᵛ, by a list of commanders who were present, divided by *langues*, under the command of George de Bosredont[12], brother of the owner of the manuscript.

Pantaleon also appears among the martyrs in the litanies of **Monreale**, the breviary written in Malta between 1550 and 1578.

Another feast specifically relating to the order is the commemoration, with nine lessons, of the presentation of the relics of S. John the Baptist, on 21 Nov. The entry appears, in red ink, in the calendar of the psalter-hymnal from Colmar, **Colm446**, and in the breviary from Darmstadt, **DarmI/18**, as well as in the sanctoral[13] of the breviary from Freiburg, **Freib56**, on f. 398ᵐ, and in **B 1480**.

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*offerimus, pro victoria famulo tuo Petro hospitalis Hierosolymitani nostroque magistro, et eius exercitui contra fidei cristiane hostes Turchas per te Rhodum mirabiliter concessa, suppliciter deprecamur, ut solita tue pietatis clementia muniti, dexteraque tue potentiae defensi ab hostium insidiis omnique adversitate protegamur...*Secr. *Beatus Panthaleon martyr tuus domine, qui diversis suppliciis maceratur viva et vera factus hostia, hec tibi ad salutem nostram gratificet libamina. Per dominum.* Alia secr. *Hostias tibi placationis et laudis offerimus suppliciter exorantes, ut qui misericorditer famulum tuum Petrum hospitalis Hierosolymitani magistrum ac eius exercitum de fidei tuae hostibus triumphare fecisti, ab inimicorum tumultu, et tribulatione salves semper et munias...*Postcom. *Sumpta refectis, quam pro beatis martiris tui domine Panthaleonis celebritate percepimus, pro nobis sit ad capessenda superni gaudia convivii. Per dominum.* Alia postcom. *Sumptis redemptionis nostre muneribus, praesta quesumus misericors deus, eorum celebratione nobis tuae protectionis auxilium, et famulum tuum hospitalis Hierosolymitani magistrum, cum suo exercitu gratias de triumphis Turcharum hostium fidei nomini tuo sancto referentem, ab omni inimicorum incursu, cunctisque adversitatibus liberes semper et protegas. Per dominum.*

[12] The rubric reads: 'Sensuyuent les nombres des freres commandeurs de lordre saint Jehan de Rodes quy furent es galees de la garde frere George de Bosredont commandeur de Montchamp capitainne de laditte armee encontre les Turcs. Et estoient deux galees de Christiens contre trois de Turcs. Et furent prys et occys les dis Turcs'.

3.2 The Printed Editions

It is possible to notice a shift from the first editions, representative of the manuscript tradition of the Germanic area, towards a desire to go back to the original liturgical tradition of the order, at least so perceived. By 1517 the General Chapters of the order had put on their agenda the uniformity of the liturgy of the order and its conformity to that of the Holy Sepulchre. The editions of the Hospitaller Breviary in 1517 and 1551, and those of the Hospitaller Missal in 1551 and 1553, are characterised by this search for the 'original' use of the Holy Sepulchre with the precise intention of spreading among all commanderies a unified liturgical use in the respect of the oldest use of the order based on that of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem.

The first Hospitaller Breviary was printed in Mainz in about 1480, **B1480**. The only extant copy, now in the British Library, contains the summer part only, therefore we do not know who commissioned the work, information which was presumably contained in the opening of the winter part, as can be seen in the second edition of the breviary printed in 1495, **B1495**. However, the presence of Strasbourgeoise saints among several other German saints in the calendar, sanctoral, and litanies may suggest that the breviary was commissioned by the important Hospitaller house of Strasbourg.

The second edition of the Hospitaller Breviary, **B1495**, is a result of the ~~General~~ Prou nad Chapter of the order held in Strasbourg in 1495 by Pierre d'Aubusson [14]. It was

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[13] However in the calendar on 21 Nov. in entered the Presentation of the Virgin.

[14] The following members were present at the Chapter: fr. Nicolaus Rauch de Baden, *commendator* (electus 1468-1504); fr. Johannes Meissenheim, prior (1494-1502); fr. Henricus Schilling, *custos* (1493-1522); fr. Bartholomaeus Kun (†1496); fr. Martinus Melbrieg (†1497); fr. Martinus Offenturer (†1497); fr. Johannes Scriba de Ehnheim (†1499); fr. Walterus Syboter (†1501); fr. Bechtold Doliator de Lohr (†1501); fr. Thomas Gyger de Riedlingen (†1503); fr. Johannes Fromm (†1504); fr. Otto Krieg (†1504); fr. Johannes Schüchelin (†1504); fr. Johannes de Franckfordia (†1504); fr. Cunradus de Nuremberga (†1505); fr. Petrus Risch (†1505); see *Armamentarium Catholicum perantiquae rarissimae ac pretiosissimae Bibliothecae quae asservatur Argentorati in celeberrima commenda eminentissimi ordinis Melitensis Sancti Johannis Hierosolymitani*, ed. J. N. Weislinger (Strasbourg, 1749), 640.

commissioned in 1495 by Rudolf Graf von Werdenberg († 1505), ~~grand~~ prior of J X

Germany, and *commendator* of Heitersheim, and edited by the Strasbourg *commendatores* of the Order of St John before being handed to the printer, Peter Drach, in Speier[15].

This 1495 edition is, with a few additions, a reprint of the 1480 edition. A new insertion is the feast for S. Arbogastus, bishop of Strasbourg (21 July), in the calendar as well as in the sanctoral with a proper office.

The breviary printed in Lyon by Cyriacus Hochperg in 1517, B1517, marks a turning point in the liturgical practice of the order. In the mandate for publication we read that the General Chapter held in Rhodes on 1st of February 1510 under the mastership of Emeric d'Amboise, grand master of the order in the years 1503-12, decided that it was necessary to reinstate the uniformity of the liturgical observance within the houses of the order, in which, according to the Chapter, 'officium diuinarum horarum canonicarum sub vario stilo celebrabatur'. For this purpose the priest Antonius Beriat was assigned the task of transcribing a good exemplar, copied from a breviary of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem apparently held in Rhodes, and of handing this work over to the printer[16]. The same assertion can be found in the opening of the temporal, on k_{viii}^r: 'Incipit breuiarium secundum ordinem fratrum sacri hospitalis sancti Iohannis Hierosolymitani extractum et excerptum de approbato vsu dominici Sepulcri per fratrem Anthonius Beriat presbyterum eiudem ordinis Hierosolymitani.'

The calendar, while it has been cleared of almost all German feasts, now includes some Carmelite festivities, like Cirillus (6 Mar.), the prophet Helyseus (14 June), and Eligius (1 Dec.), as a result of the exemplar used to prepare this edition.

New universally observed feasts have of course been included, like S. Thomas Aquinas (8 Mar.), canonized in 1323, S. Bernadinus (20 May), who died in 1444, S. Anthonius de Padua (13 June), who died in 1231. Some other feasts have been upgraded according to previous Hospitaller Chapters held in 1449 and 1454. The celebration of the Transfiguration (6 Aug.) as a double feast was introduced by the order in 1449, and in the previous printed breviaries it appears with nine

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[15] See the mandate for publication in Appendix 3.
[16] See the mandate for publication in Appendix 3.

lessons. The feast of S. Eufemia (16 Sept.), whose celebration as a *semi duplum* was also decreed in 1449, had been in the previous breviaries a feast with three lessons. The veneration of the Corona Spinea (11 Aug.) graded *semi duplum* in 1454, is not present in the previous printed breviaries[17].

The litanies, however, do not include Jerusalem saints, but rather they show a very strong French colour and are very close to those found in **BN1400**, from Paris.

The breviary **B1551** is a reprint of the 1517 edition. It was also printed in Lyon, but by Cornelius a Septemgrangiis *expensis Haeredum Jacobi Junctae*.

The first Hospitaller Missal was printed in Strasbourg in 1505, **M 1505**. The mandate for publication states that the editor of the missal was motivated by the inadequate number of missals available to the order. The publication was commissioned by Rudolf Graf von Werdenberg, ~~grand~~ prior of Germany and *commendator* of Heitersheim, Iohannes Hegisser, bailiff of Rhodes, and by Erhard Kienig von Ettlingen, *commendator* of the house in Strasbourg.

The calendar and the sanctoral show, of course, a minimum of adaptation to include some of the festivities of Strasbourg. The series of post-Pentecost Alleluia verses, however, is that found in all Hospitaller books.

The 1551 edition of the Hospitaller Missal was printed in Lyon by Cornelius a Septemgrangiis, **M1551**. The calendar is the same as that of the Hospitaller Breviary printed in 1551 by the same printer. Therefore in comparison to **M1505** it does not contain any Strasbourg festivities, the new feasts observed by the order have been included and generally all feasts with three lessons in **M1505** have been upgraded to nine. In comparison with the 1505 edition, **M1551** also contains more text, in particular a prosary and the list of fasting days. The structure is also slightly different, with the common of saints following the sanctoral instead of being inserted between the ordinary and the sanctoral, as can be found in **M1505**.

The 1553 edition of the Hospitaller Missal, **M1553**, is a reprint of the 1551 edition.

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[17] Legras-Lemaître 92.

At the Council of Trent, the grand master of the Order, engaged in the military defence of Malta, was represented by Martin Rojas Portalrubei. Summoned by a brief of pope Pius IV of the 7th of November 1561, he was officially received on 7th of September 1563, when he made his address, published in Brescia by Ludovicus Sabiensis. None of the privileges and immunities of the order was revoked by the Council, though the decrees of the Council brought some modification to their religious activities, with regard to the administration of sacraments and pastoral care[18].

As far as liturgy is concerned, the 25th session of the Council decreed the reform of the breviary and of the missal[19]. A commission was set up c. 1564 for this purpose by Pius IV, and in 1568 the new *Breviarium Romanum ex decreto ss. Concilii Tridentini* and the new *Missale Romanum ex decreto ss. Concilii Tridentini restitutum, Pii V Pont. Max. jussu editum* were prepared. The bull of Pius V dated 14th of July 1570 imposed them on the Church and according to the pope's will they had to receive no modification. However, a new edition of the breviary appeared in 1602, prepared by a commission set up to correct mistakes found in the previous edition; while in 1604 appeared the missal of Clement VIII, and in 1634 that of Urban VIII.

These texts were compulsory for all dioceses, churches, and orders who could not prove a liturgical tradition older than two hundred years. In these cases authorisation was given to retain a special *proprium*, to maintain the most significative local feasts[20]. This was the case for the Hospitallers, whose proper of saints was published in 1659[21], 1739[22], and 1759[23].

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[18] A. C. Breycha-Vauthier de Baillamont, 'L'Ordre au Concile de Trente', *AOSMM*, 20 (1962), 82-4.

[19] E. Weber, *Le Concile de Trente et la musique de la réforme a la contre-réforme*, Musique-Musicologie, 12 (Paris, 1982), 103.

[20] *ibid*. 117-22.

[21] *Officia propria sanctorum ordinis S. Joannis Hierosolymitani Melitensis in usum domus Coloniensis S.S. Joannis et Cordulae seorsim edita*, Coloniae Agrippinae: Antonius Metternich, 1659 (Amiet, *Missels et bréviaires*, 473 P 3014), a copy in Strasbourg, B. du Grand Séminaire, GS. 1 Ddi 55.

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[22] *Officia propria sanctorum recitanda a religiosis utriusque sexus Ordinis S. Johannis Hierosolymitani*, Strasbourg: Melchior Pauschinger, 1739; see Hellwald 266.

[23] *Officia propria sanctorum recitanda a religiosis utriusque sexus Ordinis Militaris Sancti Joannis Jerosolymitani*, Malta: Nicola Capaci, 1759; reprinted by Johannes Mallia in 1785; see Hellwald 266.

CHAPTER 4: LITURGICAL ANALYSIS

This chapter contains the liturgical data extracted from the manuscripts which present the liturgical use of the Holy Sepulchre, as well as from manuscripts and printed material from other liturgical uses included for a comparative study.

The analysis focuses on specific offices of the liturgical year, as it is from these that we can draw on the large base of data collected primarily by Gabriel Beyssac and by other liturgists. The office of the Holy Sepulchre is canonical, therefore it includes nine lessons, each consisting of a reading followed by a responsory and a versicle. The list or series of responsories and versicles extracted from the nine lessons of an office constitutes the material of our analysis. Variants to the main series are notified-off in round brackets after the manuscript or printed source they refer to.

A general introduction to the calendar of the Holy Sepulchre (4.1), will be Church of the followed by the analysis of the following offices: for the temporal, (4.2) the series of responsories and versicles to be found at Matins of the four Sundays of Advent and *Quattuor Tempora* (series given by *feria* IV, V, VI, and Saturday of the last week of Advent); (4.3) the series of responsories and versicles to be found at Matins of *Triduum sacrum* (Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, and Holy Saturday); (4.4) the series of Alleluia verses of the Sundays after the octave of Pentecost. For the sanctoral, (4.5) the series of responsories and versicles to be found at Matins for the office of All Saints (1 Nov.); (4.6) the series of responsories and versicles to be found at Matins for the office of All Souls (2 Nov.). Also considered are (4.7) the series of responsories and versicles to be found at Matins for the office of the dedication of the church; and finally, (4.8) the *officium quotidianum de Beata Maria Virgine*.

4.1 Calendar

The calendars of a group of illuminated manuscripts from the Holy Sepulchre, namely **BL1139, Ang477, BN12056, Vat659, BL2902, Ricc323, and Perugia**

1 5 has been already discussed by Francis Wormald[1]. In Appendix 4 are transcribed the same calendars, with the inclusion of the entries from later hands, and the calendars from **Barletta, BN10478, BL3153, Wand,** and **Parma,** to provide a full picture of the calendar of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, Acre, and Cyprus.

The base of the calendar is given by the list of saints generally attested in the liturgical sources after the twelfth century, established on the base of the Gregorian Sacramentary, complemented by the Gelasian Sacramentary, with the addition of the feasts universally adopted by the Latin Church in the tenth and eleventh century. A complete list of these saints has been drawn up by Dom Huot in his *Iter Helveticum* V 43-7. Beyond this common Roman base, it is possible to identify five groups of entries: (1) a certain number of feasts universally attested, but not yet universally included in the basic Roman calendar; (2) French saints; (3) Palestinian and Jerusalem saints; (4) Augustinian saints; (5) new feasts specifically related to crusader life in Jerusalem.

(1.) Within the first group can be found the following entries: Crucifixio Christi (25 Mar.); Resurrectio domini (27 Mar.); Ciriacus et Iulita (16 June); Paulinus (22 June) bishop of Nola; Translatio Benedicti ab (11 July); Transfiguratio domini (6 Aug.); Martinus pp (10 Nov.), from **BN12056** onwards; Barbara (4 Dec.), from **BN12056** onwards; Nicholas (6 Dec.) bishop of Myra; Conceptio BMV (8 Dec.); Damasus pp (11 Dec.), from **BN12056** onwards.

(2.) The French entries included in the calendar of the Holy Sepulchre are mostly well known saints whose veneration extended by the twelfth century throughout French territory. In addition can be found some regional or diocesan saints which point to the Norman-Angevin area, but altogether their entries do not reflect the calendar of any specific place or diocese. Within this second group we find: Hilarius bishop of Poitiers and Remigius bishop of Reims (13 Jan.); Maurus (15 Jan.), abbot of Glandfeuil; Julianus (27 Jan.), bishop of Le Mans; Amandus

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[1] Buchthal 107-9, the calendars have been transcribed in full, only the entries in the original hand, on 110-26.

bishop of Maastricht and Vedastus bishop of Arras and Cambrai (6 Feb.), included from **Vat659** onwards; Albinus (1 Mar.), bishop of Angers; Medardus bishop of Noyon and Gildardus bishop of Rouen (8 June), from **BN12056** onwards; Martinus (4 July, *translatio* and *ordinatio*), bishop of Tours; Christophorus and Cucufas martyrs (25 July); Germanus (31 July), bishop of Auxerre; Maurilius (13 Sept.), bishop of Angers; Germanus and Vedastus (1 Oct.); Leodegarius (2 Oct.), bishop of Autun; Fides (6 Oct.), martyr in Agen whose relics were deposed in Conques, from **BN12056** onwards; Crispinus et Crispinianus (25 Oct.), Roman martyrs, whose relics are kept in Soissons, from **BN12056** onwards; Quintinus (31 Oct.), from **BN12056** onwards; Leonardus (6 Nov.), hermit and founder of the abbey of Noblac, from **BN12056** onwards; Vigilia Martini (10 Nov.) bishop of Tours; Britius (13 Nov.), bishop of Tours; Octava Martini (18 Nov.); Eligius (1 Dec.), bishop of Noyon; Lazarus (17 Dec.), brother of Martha and Mary 'quem dominus suscitavit', according to legends bp of Marseilles; Columba (31 Dec.), martyr in Sens.

(3.) Once the Latin Church was established in Jerusalem, the following Palestinian and in particular Jerusalem feasts were introduced into its western calendar: Timotheus (24 Jan.), bishop of Ephesus, from **BN12056** onwards; Ignatius (1 Feb.), bishop of Antioch, from **BN12056** onwards; Quadraginta martyrum (11 Mar.), from **BN12056** onwards; Athnasius (2 May), bishop of Alexandria; Matthias (30 Jan.), 8th bishop of Jerusalem; Alexander (18 Mar.), 4th bishop of Jerusalem; Quiriacus (4 May), bishop of Jerusalem in the 4th century; Zacchaeus (23 Aug.), bishop of Jerusalem in the 2nd century; Cleophas (25 Sept.), disciple of Christ martyr in Emmaus; Abraham Ysaac et Jacob (6 Oct.); Marcus (22 Oct.), 1st bishop of Jerusalem; Narcissus (29 Oct.), 3rd bishop of Jerusalem; Petrus (25 Nov.), bishop of Alexandria, from **BN12056** onwards; Saba (5 Dec.) abbot in Jerusalem.

(4.) The fact that the earliest calendars already present clear Augustinian features suggests that they were copied from post-1114 exemplars which reflect the Augustinian reform of the Chapter of the Holy Sepulchre. The following feasts can be found: Augustinus (28 Feb., first *translatio*); Vigilia Augustini (27 Aug.);

Reconditio Augustini (28 Aug.); Octava Augustini (4 Sept.); Translatio Augustini (11 Oct., second *translatio*, a feast abolished by Pius X).

(5.) Finally a new office was composed to celebrate the day of the liberation of Jerusalem (15 July).

How little relation the early calendars bear to the sources adopted in the composition of the office of the Holy Sepulchre will become clear once these sources are identified by analysing the chant repertoire.

4.2 (Temporal) Series of responsories and versicles for Matins of the four Sundays of Advent and Quattuor Tempora

The office for Advent is found in the *pars hiemalis* of breviaries, antiphonaries, and ordinals. We do not have data from the earliest printed Hospitaller breviaries, **B1480** and **B1495**, as they contain the *pars aestivalis* only.

In square brackets, there is reference to the numerical organisation of responsories and versicles set up by R. J. Hesbert, *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii*, 6 vols, Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Documenta. Series Maior. Fontes, 7-12 (Rome, 1963-79), V 32-3, whose series have been reorganised on computer by K. Ottosen, *L'Antiphonaire latin au moyen âge. Réorganisation des séries des répons de l'avent classés par R.-J. Hesbert*, Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Documenta. Extra Seriem (Rome, 1986). The numerical and alphabetical list of responsories for Advent can be found in Hesbert V 32-3, and in Ottosen, *Antiphonaire*, 11-14. The comparative analysis has been conducted on the first two Sundays only, as they appear to be the most distinctive, while for the rest of the office similarities can be found with a number of sources too large and varied to try to establish a connection. However, the data relating to the office of the Holy Sepulchre for the other Sundays and Ember days are given in full.

The reference number assigned below to the manuscripts quoted for the comparative analysis of the liturgical use, for example **Bayeux2** (132), corresponds to the manuscript identification number assigned by Hesbert and Ottosen.

Vat659 is the earliest exemplar from the Holy Sepulchre to contain this office:

DOMINICA I

1. R. Aspiciens a longe	[011]	V. Quique terrigene
		V. Qui regis israel
2. R. Aspiciebam	[012]	V. Potestas eius
3. R. Missus est	[013]	V. Dabit ei
4. R. Ave Maria...Spiritus	[014]	V. Quomodo fiet
5. R. Salvatorem	[015]	V. Sobrie et iuste
6. R. Audite verbum	[016]	V. Adnuntiate
7. R. Ecce virgo	[017]	V. Super solium
8. R. Obsecro	[018]	V. A solis ortu
9. R. Laetentur coeli	[019]	V. Orietur in diebus
10. R. Alieni non transibunt	[062]	V. Ego veniam

This series, whose main characteristic is R. 62 in final position, can be identified with group g in Hesbert's analysis; group g contains 12 manuscripts: **Chant1076** (190); **Ste Wandru** (222); **Carmelite3** (226); **Canons Regular English** (316); **Mars109** (319); **Monreale** (325); **Carmelite1** (342); **Carmelite2** (362); **Maz355** (389); **Carmelite4** (413); **BN10478** (422); **Wand** (508).

It includes 6 manuscripts from the Holy Sepulchre (190; 319; 325; 389; 422; 508), 4 from the Carmelites (226; 342; 362; 413), a manuscript from an English community of Canons Regular (316), and a manuscript from the Collegiate church of Ste Wandru, in Mons (diocese of Cambrai), which, however, presents local variants (see Leroquais, *Les Breviaires,* II 70 no. 249). Therefore they are all strictly related to the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre, with the sole exception of the manuscript from Ste Wandru. This also means that, as far as the first week of

Advent is concerned, it is not possible to identify the source adopted by the Holy Sepulchre. However the similarity with most Norman series should be noticed:

Évreux1-2-6 (238; 411; 486), **Rouen2** (490), and **Sées1-2** (428; 492), all in Hesbert's group d which includes 22 manuscripts, present the following series:
11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 *60*

Paris1 (400) and **Senlis1** (424), in Hesbert's group c which includes 28 manuscripts, present the following series:
11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 *61*

Sarum2-3-4 (288, 290, 351), in Hesbert's group b which includes 31 manuscripts, present the following series:
11 12 13 14 *34* 15 16 17 19 18 62
All Sarum sources present R. 62 in final position, but they have R. 34 in position 5, not a Holy Sepulchre feature.

York4 (305), in Hesbert's group k which presents 6 manuscripts, presents the following series:
11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 *80*

Bayeux1-2-3 (132-4; 375), **Avranches** (294), **Sens** (401), and **Chartres1-2** (192; 476), in Hesbert's group a which includes 192 manuscripts, present the very common series:
11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19

The **Teutonic order**, in Hesbert's group h which includes 8 manuscripts, presents the following series, also common to the **Dominican** exemplar (483):
11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 *63* 19 62

DOMINICA II

1. R. Jerusalem cito	[021]	V. Israel si me
2. R. Ecce dominus veniet et...et erit	[022]	V. Ecce cum virtute
3. R. Civitas Jerusalem	[024]	V. Ecce in fortitudo
4. R. Docebit nos	[070]	V. Venite ascen.
5. R. Ecce veniet dominus protector	[025]	V. Ecce dominator
6. R. Sicut mater	[026]	V. Dabo in Syon
7. R. Jerusalem plantabis	[027]	V. Exulta satis
8. R. Egredietur dominus de Samaria	[028]	V. Et preparabitur
9. R. Rex noster	[029]	V. Ecce agnus

This series, whose main characteristic is R. 24 in position 3 and R. 70 in position 4, can be identified with group g in Hesbert's analysis; group g contains 10 manuscripts: 5 manuscripts from the Holy Sepulchre, **Chant1076, Mars109, Monreale, BN10478, Wand**, 3 from the Carmelites, **Carmelite2-3-4**, a manuscript from Évreux, **Évreux6**, and a manuscript from a parish church dependant from St Denis, **St Denis**.

It should also be noted that two manuscripts from Évreux, **Évreux1-2**, group gg in Hesbert's analysis, have the following series:

21 22 24 70 25 26 27 28 29 *62 64*

As far as the second week of Advent is concerned, the Holy Sepulchre seems to have adopted the use of Évreux. Considering that, within the series for Advent, this one from the second week is by far the most original and distinctive, and that according to the above evidence it was derived from Évreux, it is I believe safe to deduce that the office for Advent of the Holy Sepulchre was taken from an Évreux manuscript.

DOMINICA III

1. R. Ecce apparebit	[031]	V. Apparebit in finem
2. R. Bethleem civitas	[032]	V. Loquetur pacem

3. R. Qui venturus est   [033] V. Deponet omnes
4. R. Suscipe verbum   [034] V. Paries quidem
5. R. Egipte noli flere   [035] V. Ecce veniet
6. R. Prope est ut veniat   [036] V. Qui venturus est
7. R. Descendet dominus   [037] V. Et adorabunt eum
8. R. Veni domine   [038] V. Excita domine
9. R. Ecce radix Iesse   [039] V. Dabit ei dominus

DOMINICA IV

1. R. Canite tuba, in Sion, vocate   [041] V. Annuntiate
2. R. Octava decima (Vigesima quarta)   [042] V. Ego sum dominus
3. R. Non auferetur   [043] V. Pulcriores sunt
4. R. Me oportet   [044] V. Hoc est testimonium
5. R. Ecce iam veniet plenitudo   [045] V. Propter nimiam
6. R. Virgo Israel revertere   [046] V. In caritate
7. R. Juravi   [047] V. Iuxta est salus
8. R. Non discedimus   [048] V. Domine deus virtutum
9. R. Intuemini   [049] V. Precursor pro nobis
10. R. Radix Iesse   [059] V. Super ipsum
11. R. Nascetur   [091] V. Multiplicabitur

QUATTUOR TEMPORA

1. R. Clama in fortitudine   [051]   V. Super montem
2. R. Orietur stella   [052]   V. Et adorabunt eum
3. R. Modo veniet   [053]   V. Orietur in diebus
4. R. Egredietur dominus et praeliabitur   [054]   V. Et elevabitur
5. R. Praecursor (Redemptor) pro nobis   [055]   V. Ipse est rex
6. R. Videbunt gentes   [056]   V. Et eris corona
7. R. Emitte agnum   [057]   V. Ostende nobis
8. R. Germinaverunt   [058]   V. Ex Syon species

9. R. Radix Jesse qui exsurget	[059]	V. Super ipsum
10. R. Paratus esto	[094]	V. Ecce donator
11. R. Rorate coeli	[090]	V. Emitte agnus
12. R. Montes Israel	[060]	V. Rorate celi

The same series can be found in **BN10478** (but it does not have the first two responsories of the 1st Sunday, [00] [00]); **Wand; Chant1076; Parma**.

Among the Hospitaller sources, the same series appears in **Monreale; Mars109** (QT does not have R. 56 58 60, therefore its series is 51 52 53 54 55 57 59 94 90); **Cam6652; LondOSJ** (from R. 7 of Dominica IV. QT: Position 7 V. *Rorate celi*); **B1517** (Dominica II, position 6: R. *Dabo in Syon*; QT, position 12: R. *Montes ramos vestros expandite*); and **B1551** (Dominica I does not have position 10; Dominica IV does not have position 9 and 10).

In relation to this main series, **Maz355** presents slight variations: in the first Sunday, the R. in position 6 [18] and 8 [16] are reversed; in the 2nd Sunday, there is no R. 23, and R. 70 is in position 8; in the 3rd Sunday, [34] is in position 7, and [91] in position 10; in QT, position 4 [56] and 6 [54] are reversed, and there are no extra responsories. The full series is therefore:

11 12 13 14 15 18 17 16 19 62

21 22 24 25 26 27 28 70 29

31 32 33 35 36 37 34 38 39 91

41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49

51 52 53 56 55 54 57 58 59

Lucca presents many differences. The first and second Sundays present an isolated series according to Hesbert:

11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 60 19

21 22 24 25 26 27 28 29 92 82

31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39

41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49

51 52 53 59 93 91 54 55 56 57 58 90

The Teutonic use, as given by the manuscripts **Teutonic1-2-3-4-5**, presents the following series:

11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 63 19 62

21 22 24 25 26 27 28 70 29

31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39

41 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 91

51 52 54 55 53 56 57 58 59

4.3 (Temporal) Series of responsories and versicles found at Matins of the Triduum Sacrum

The office for the *Triduum sacrum* is found in the *pars hiemalis* of breviaries, antiphonaries, and ordinals. It can occasionally be found in books of hours. We do not have data from **B1480** and **B1495** as they only contain the *pars aestivalis*. In square brackets there is reference to the numerical organisation of responsories set up by P. M. Gy, 'Les répons de matines des trois nuits avant Paques et la géographie liturgique du moyen âge latin', *Requirentes modos musicos. Mélanges offerts à Dom Jean Claire*, ed. D. Saulnier (Solesmes, 1995), 29-39. Father Gy has reorganised the material collected by R. Le Roux, 'Répons du Triduo Sacro et de Paques', *Études Grégoriennes*, 18 (1979), 157-176.

Vat659 is the earliest exemplar from the Holy Sepulchre to contain this office:

FERIA V IN COENA DOMINI

1. R. In monte oliveti	[001]	V. Verumptamen
2. R. Tristis est	[002]	V. Vigilate et orate
3. R. Ecce vidimus eum	[003]	V. Vere langores
4. R. Amicus meus	[004]	V. Melius illi
5. R. Eram quasi agnus	[007]	V. Homo pacis mee
6. R. Una hora non	[008]	V. Dormite iam

7. R. Seniores populi	[009]	V. Congregaverunt
8. R. Revelabunt celi	[010]	V. In die perditionis
9. R. O Iuda qui	[031]	V. Os tuum

The same series can be found in **BN10478** (Position 7: V. *Cogitaverunt iniquitatem sibi*); **Wand** and **Parma** (Position 5: V. *Omnes inimici*); **Chant1076**. The office of the Holy Sepulchre for the *Triduum Sacrum* clearly derives from that of Chartres, where the only variant occurs in position 5. The Holy sepulchre series has replaced R. *Iudas mercator* [005] of the Chartres series with R. *Eram quasi agnus* [007].

Chartres9: [001] [002] [003] [004] *[005]* [008] [009] [010] [031]

Among the Holy Sepulchre sources only **Lucca** retains the original Chartres series, which contain in position 5 R. Iudas mercator, and in position 9 V. Corpore tantum.

Among the Hospitaller sources, **Maz355** presents some variants in the arrangement of the responsories, including the adoption of the Chartres original responsory in position 5 (Position 5: R. *Iudas mercator* [005] V. *Avaricie inebriatus*. Position 6: R. *Eram quasi agnus* [007] V. *Omnes inimici mei*. Position 8: R. *O Iuda qui dereliquisti* [031] V. *Os tuum*. Position 9: R. *Una hora* [008] V. *Dormite iam*).

However, the other Hospitaller sources only present minor variants in the versicles: **Mars109** (Position 7: V. *Cogitaverunt iniquitatem*); **Cam6652** (Position 5: V. *Omnes inimici*); **LondOSJ** (Position 4: V. *Bonum ei*. Position 5: V. *Omnes amici(!) mei*. Position 7: V. *Cogitaverunt iniquitatem*); **Freib56**, **Haarl184C5**, and **Haarl184C4** (Position 5: V. *Omnes inimici mei*. Position 7: V. *Cogitaverunt iniquitatem*); **OxfSJC131** (Position 2: V. *Ecce appropinquabit hora*. Position 5: V. *Omnes inimici mei*); **B1517**; **B1551**.

The other sources investigated clearly belong to a different tradition:

Bayeux6:

[001] [002] *[004]* *[005]* *[006 = Unus ex discipulis]* *[010]* *[008]* *[009]* *[031]*

Évreux1:

[001] [002] *[004] [003] [005] [006]* [009] *[031] [008]*

Paris2:

[001] [002] *[004] [006]* [007] [008] [009] [010] [031]

FERIA VI IN MORTE DOMINI

1. R. Omnes amicis	[011]		V. Et dederunt
2. R. Vinea mea	[013]		V. Ego quidem
3. R. Tanquam ad latronem	[014]		V. Filius quidem
4. R. Barabas latro	[017]		V. Ecce turba
5. R. Tradiderunt me	[018]		V. Astiterunt reges
6. R. Ihesum tradidit	[019]		V. Et ingressus Petr.
7. R. Caligaverunt	[020]		V. O vos omnes
8. R. Velum templi	[012]		V. Amen dico tibi
9. R. Tenebre facte sunt	[015]		V. Cum ergo accep.

The same series can be found in **BN10478**; **Wand**; **Chant1076**; **Parma**.

Again **Lucca** and **Chartres9** (Delaporte, p. 219) present a minor variant (Position 3: V. *Cumque iniecissent manus in Ihesum.*)

Among the Hospitaller sources, same series in **Mars109**; **Freib56**; **Haarl184C5**; **Haarl184C4**; **B1517**; **B1551**; same versicle variant as Chartres in **Maz355** and **OxfSJC131** (Position 3: V. *Cumque misisent* (or *iniecissent* as OxfSJC) *manus in Ihesum*); another minor variant in **Cam6652** and **LondOSJ** (Position 9: V. *Et velum templi scissus est*).

Among the other sources, **Paris2** as Holy Sepulchre; in **Bayeux6** positions 3 and 4, and 7 and 8, are reversed: [011] [013] *[017] [014]* [018] [019] *[012] [020]* [015]; **Évreux1**: [011] *[012] [013] [014] [017] [015] [018] [019] [020]*

SABBATO SANCTO

1. R. Sepulto domino	[021]	V. Ne forte veniant
2. R. Iherusalem luge	[022]	V. Deduc quasi
3. R. Plange quasi virgo	[023]	V. Ululate pastores
		(et clamate aspergite)
4. R. Recessit pastor	[024]	V. Ante cuius
5. R. O vos omnes	[025]	V. Attendite
6. R. Ecce quomodo	[026]	V. In pace factus
7. R. Estimatus sum	[027]	V. Posuerunt me
8. R. Agnus dei Christus	[028]	V. Christus factus
9. R. Sicut ovis	[029]	V. In pace factus est

The same series can be found in **BN10478; Wand; Chant1076; Parma. Lucca 5** and **Chartres9** (Position 4: V. *Destruxit quidem claustra*).

Among the Hospitaller sources, in **Maz355** position 8 and 9 are reversed (Position 8: R. *Sicut ovis* [029] V. *Ipse autem vulneratur est propter iniquitates*. Position 9: R. *Agnus dei Christus* [028] V. *Christus factus*). **Mars109; Cam6652; Freib56; Haarl184C5; Haarl184C4; B1517** and **B1551** (no versicles), are identical. **OxfSJC131** presents a variant in position 6 (Position 3: also R. *Ullulate pastores in cinere et cilicio*. Position 4: also V. *Videntes autem eum parate*. Position 6: R. *Viri iusti tolluntur*); **LondOSJ** presents two minor versicle variants (Position 4: V. *Tocius conspectum mors fugit*. Position 7: V. *Et sicut inlucati dormientes*; found in Évreux).

Among the other sources, **Paris2** as Holy Sepulchre. **Évreux1** as Holy Sepulchre with only a variant in the versicle in position 7: V. *Et sicut inlucati dormientes*
[021] [022] [023] [024] [025] [026] [027] [028] [029]
In **Bayeux6** (p. 134) position 8 and 9 are reversed:
[021] [022] [023] [024] [025] [026] [027] *[029] [028]*

The Teutonic use, as given by **Teutonic4-7**, is the following:

[Feria V] 1. In monte Oliveti [01]; 2. Tristis est [02]; 3. Ecce vidimus [03]; 4. Amicus meus [04]; 5. Unus ex vobis [06]; 6. Eram quasi agnus [07]; 7. Una hora [08]; 8. Seniores populi [09]; 9. Revelabunt [10].

[Feria VI] 1. Omnes amici [11]; 2. Velum templi [12]; 3. Vinea mea [13]; 4. Tamquam ad latronem [14]; 5. Tenebrae factae sunt [15]; 6. Barrabas latro [17]; 7. Tradiderunt [18]; 8. Iesum/Me tradidit [19]; 9. Sicut ovis ad occisio [29].

[Sabbato] 1. Sepulto domino [21]; 2. Ierusalem luge [22]; 3. Plange quasi virgo [23]; 4. Recessit pastor [24]; 5. O vos omnes [25]; 6. Caligaverunt oculi [20]; 7. Ecce quomodo moritur [26]; 8. Aestimatus sum [27]; 9. Agnus dei [28].

4.4 (Temporal) Series of Alleluia verses found at Sundays after the octave of Pentecost

The post-Pentecost Alleluia verses are found in sacramentaries, missals, graduals, and ordinals. Their text is taken from the psalms. The Alleluia verses $\downarrow s$ $\downarrow A\ell e$ are not present in **BN12056, BL2902**, nor in **Mo.O.II.13**.

In square brackets there is reference to the psalm number; a list of Alleluia verses, organised by numerical order of psalms as well as alphabetically is published in D. Hiley, *Post-Pentecost*, 171-4.

Ang477 is the earliest exemplar from the Holy Sepulchre to contain the series:

1. Verba mea	[005]
2. Domine deus meus	[07.2]
3. Deus iudex	[7.12]
4. Diligam te	[017]
5. Domine in virtute	[020]
6. In te domine	[030]
7. Eripe me de	[058]
8. Te decet	[064]
9. Attendite	[077]

10. Exultate deo	[080]
11. Domine deus salutis	[087]
12. Domine refugium	[089]
13. Venite exultemus	[94.1]
14. Quoniam deus	[94.3]
15. Confitemini domino et	[104]
16. Paratum	[107]
17. Qui timent dominum	[113B11]
18. Qui confidunt	[124]
19. De profundis	[129]
20. Lauda anima mea	[145]
21. Qui sanat	[146.3]
22. Qui posuit	[147.14]
23. Laudate dominum omnes angeli	[148]

Heinrich Husmann[2] observed that the series of Senlis, as given by **Senlis2**, was also the series of the Carmelites and of the Hospitallers. If this was the case, the series from Senlis should also be considered the origin of the use of the Holy Sepulchre, from which the two orders derived their use. There are, however, substantial differencies, like the presence of V. *Dominus regit me* [22] in position 6, of V. *Omnes gentes* [46] in position 7, of V. *Dextera domini* [117] in position 19, of V. *Confitebor tibi* [137.1] in position 22, and of V. *Verbo domini celi firmati* [32] in position 24; neither of these appear in the Holy Sepulchre series.
Senlis2:
5 7.2 7.12 17 20 *22 46* 58 64 30 77 80 87 89 94.1 94.3 107 116 *117* 145 129 *137.1* 147.14 *32*

Actually the use of the Holy Sepulchre, as given by the series from **Ang477**, is almost identical to the use of **Évreux4**:

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[2] H. Husmann, ‘Die Oster- und Pfingstalleluia der Kopenhagener Liturgie und ihre historischen Beziehungen’, *Dansk Aarbog for Musik Forskning* (1964-5), 3-62, at 17.

5 7.2 7.12 17 20 30 58 64 77 80 87 89 94.1 94.3 104 107 113B11 *117* 124 129 145 146.3 147.14 *7.2*

where the only difference is found in the presence of Alleluia V. *Dextera dei* [117] in the Évreux series and of Alleluia V. *Domine deus meus* [07.2] at the end of the series, substituted with Alleluia V. *Laudate dominum omnes angeli* [148] in the Holy Sepulchre series.

Another Missal from Évreux, from the 14th century, presents the Alleluia V. *In te domine speravi* [030] in position 9 instead of in position 6, the Alleluia V. [117] in position 18, but no Alleluia V. [07.2] at the end, confirming the substantial identity between the series from Évreux and the Holy Sepulchre:

Évreux5:

5 7.2 7.12 17 20 47 58 64 *30* 77 80 87 89 94.1 94.3 104 107 113B11 *117* 124 129 146.3 147.14

The Évreux series is a derivation from that of Rouen, its archdiocese. However, they differ in so far as Rouen does not present V. *Domine deus meus* [7.2], to be found instead in the Évreux and Holy Sepulchre series in position 2. Moreover Évreux, like the Holy Sepulchre, does not present V. *Omnes gentes* [46] between V. 30 and V. 58.

Rouen10:

[5?] 7.12 17 20 30 *46* 58 64.2 77 80 87 89 94.1 94.3 104 107 113 *117* 124 129 145 146.3 147.14 147.14

It is therefore clear that the use of the Holy Sepulchre, as given by its earliest exemplar, **Ang477**, was taken directly from Évreux.

The use of the Holy Sepulchre was, however, soon slightly modified, with the introduction of V. *Magnus dominus* [47] in position 7 between V. 30 and V. 58, and of V. *Laudate dominum omnes gentes* [116.1] in position 20 between V. 113 and V. 124, as given by **Vat659** and by the Hospitaller tradition. **Vat659** also presents the introduction of V. *Domine exaudi* [101.2] in position 16 between V. 94.3 and V. 104, a characteristic that was not continued by the immediately later Holy Sepulchre and Hospitaller tradition, but that was picked up in the 1551 edition of the Hospitaller Missal, for which it was used an exemplar from Rhodes

which predates the Hospitallers' loss of the island in 1523. That this is the case is proven by the text of the Missal itself, where in the proper of saints, on K$_{iv}$^{v}, is recorded a reference to their church in Rhodes: '(25 Apr.) Ipso die sancti Marci est letania maior et licet non fiat processio in ecclesia sancti Ioannis Collaci Rhodi, fratres tamen ieiunant, et dicitur missa de ieiuniio...'

Vat659:

5 7.2 7.12 17 20 30 *47* 58 64 77 80 87 89 94.1 94.3 *101.2* 104 107 113B11 *116.1* 124 129 146.3 147.14 145

where the last three Alleluia verses are alternating verses of the 23rd Sunday after the octave of Pentecost.

Therefore at the time of composition of **Vat659** three variants were introduced which are unrelated to the Évreux tradition: V. 47, V. 101.2, and V.116.1.

The insertion on V. 101.2 in a series very close to that of the Holy Sepulchre can be found in texts of the Norman and Sicilian family, for which see D. Hiley, 'The Norman Chant Traditions - Normandy, Britain, Sicily', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 107 (1980-1), 1-33, at 19-20:

Palermo3:

5 7.2 7.12 17 20 30 46 47 58 64 77 80 87 89 94.1 94.3 101.2 104 107 113B11 117 124 129 137 145 146.3 147.14

Palermo2:

5 7.2 7.12 17 20 30 46 58 64 77 80 87 89 94.1 94.3 101.2 104 107 113B11 124 129 145 146.3 147.14

Cosenza:

5 7.2 7.12 17 20 30 46 58 64 77 80 87 89 94.1 94.3 101.2 104 107 113B11 124 129 145 146.3 147.14

Messina1-2-3-4:

5 7.2 7.12 17 20 30 46 58 64 77 80 87 89 94.1 94.3 101.2 104 107 113B11 124 129 145 146.3/147.14 147.14

V. 47 and V. 116.1 are found in series from Norman Sicily which, as Hiley points out[3], show a Chartres influence in thier selection of post-Pentecost Alleluia verses:

Palermo1:

7.2/5 7.12 17 20 22 46 47 58 64 70 77 80 87 89 94.1 94.3 107 113B11 116.1 124 129 137.1 146.3

Chartres8-9 (Delaporte p. 217)

7.2 7.12 17 20 22 46 47 58 64 70 77 80 87 89 94.1 94.3 107 113B11 116.1 124 129 137.1 146.3

V. 47 and V. 116.1 are also found in the Norman 'Bec' family tradition[4], where the connecting factor is the post-Conquest settlement in the English Church imposed by Lanfranc of Bec. In Normandy this tradition is also found at the monastery of St Ouen, Rouen:

Rouen9:

5 7.2 7.12 17 20 47 58 64 70 77 80 87 89 94.1 94.3 104 107 113B11 116.1 117 124 129 146.3 147.14

Canterbury, St Augustine:

5 7.2 7.12 17 20 47 58 64 70 77 80 87 89 94.1 94.3 104 107 113B11 116.1 117 124 129 146.3

St Albans:

5 7.2 7.12 17 20 47 58 64 70 77 80 87 89 94.1 94.3 104 107 113B11 116.1 117 124 129 145 146.3 147.14

Durham:

5 7.2 7.12 17 20 47 58 64 70 77 80 87 89 94.1 94.3 104 107 110 113B11 116.1 124 129 145 146.3 147.12 147.14 148

However, V. 47, V. 101.2, and V. 116 are all present in the York series:

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[3] Hiley, *Post-Pentecost*, 154-6 and *id.*, 'Quanto c'è di normanno nei tropari siculo-normanni?', *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia*, 18 (1983), 3-28, at 22-4.

[4] Hiley, *Post-Pentecost*, 153-4 and *id.*, 'The Norman Chant Traditions - Normandy, Britain, Sicily', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 107 (1980-1), 1-33, at 20.

York3-4:

5 7.12 *8* 17 20 30 *46 47* 58 64 77 80 87 89 94.1 *101.2* 104 107 113B11 *116.1* 117 129 145 146.3 147.14

The determination of the source employed for the introduction of the three variants into **Vat659** will probably not be surely identified until further studies are conducted on the geography of the spread of the post-Pentecost Alleluia verses in general, and on the Norman tradition in particular, to assess the relationship between Normandy, Norman Italy and Norman England. However, from the data gathered so far we may infer that the variants introduced in **Vat659** came either from Norman Italy directly, or from wherever the Norman Sicilian series originated, or from Norman England, probably introduced there from the same Norman source which spread into Italy.

It should be noted, for the sake of comparison, how neither Bayeux nor Hereford, whose office for All Saints is identical to that of the Holy Sepulchre, can shed any light on the Holy Sepulchre series:

Bayeux4-5-6:

7 17 20 30 *46* 58 64 77 80 87 89 *92* 94.1 94.3 *96 99* 104 107 *110* 113B11 129 146 147.14

Hereford2:

5 7 17 20 30 *46* 58 64 77 80 89 94.1 94.3 104 107 113B11 *116.1 113B11 117* 124 129 145 146 146

The other manuscripts from thirteenth-century Acre, with the exception of **Napoli**, present the series of the Holy Sepulchre as given by **Vat659**, with some variants which probably reflect the different books circulating in Acre.

Napoli, on the other hand, presents a very unusual series, which suggests that this manuscript was copied from liturgical material brought to Acre from Europe, probably Rouen. The series was subsequently adapted to the use of the Holy Sepulchre, but the difference between the adapted version and the series of the Holy Sepulchre is still substantial:

Napoli original version:

5 7.12 17 *9 46* 58 64 77 80 87 89 94.1 94.3 104 107 113B11 116.1 *116.2 116.1*
124 145 146.3 147.14

Napoli adapted version:

5 7.2 7.12 *9* 20 30 *46 47* 58 64 80 87 89 94.1 94.3 *95 101.2 101.16* 104 107
113.1 113B11 147.14

The series from **Perugia**[5], the missal produced for the cathedral church of the
Holy Cross in Acre, is practically identical to **Vat659**, the only exception being
the absence of V. 101.2 in position 16, between V. 94.3 and V. 104. Perugia was
clearly copied from an exemplar coming from the church of the Holy Sepulchre
of Jerusalem:

5 7.2 7.12 17 20 30 *47* 58 64 77 80 87 89 94.1 94.3 104 107 113B11 *116.1* 124
129 145 146.3 147.14

BL3153 presents minor variation in the arrangement of the Alleluia verses, and
the introduction of V. 46 in position 5, a verse not otherwise represented within
the Holy Sepulchre tradition. However the overall appearance of the series is that
of the Holy Sepulchre as given by **Vat659**:

7.12 17 20 30 *46* 58 *47* 64 *5* 77 80 87 89 94.1 94.3 104 107 113B11 *116.1* 124
129 146.3 147.14 147.12

The Hospitaller sources show an overall conformity to the series of the Holy
Sepulchre as given by **Vat659**, with the sole omission of V. 101.2:

Haarl184C7:

5 7.2 7.12 17 20 30 *47* 58 64 77 80 87 89 94.1 94.3 104 107 113B11 *116.1* 124
129 146 147.12

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[5] Beyssac gives a different list, exactly corresponding to the series of Trinité de
Vendôme: 7 17 20 30 46 58 64 77 80 87 89 94.1 94.3 [117] (=104) 107 110
113Q 124 129 [104] 145 146Q 147L 117D 117D 117D; however, this series does
not correspond to the text of the manuscript which I viewed on microfilm.

Frib91:

5 7.2 7.12 17 20 30 *47* 58 64 77 80 87 89 94.1 94.3 104 107 113B11 *116.1* 124
129 145 147.14 147.12

Torino:

5 7.2 7.12 17 20 30 *47* 58 64 77 80 87 89 94.1 94.3 104 107 113B11 *148* 124
129 *146.3* 147.12 147.14

Aosta1:

5 7.2 7.12 17 20 30 *47* 58 64 77 80 87 89 94.1 94.3 104 107 113B11 *116.1* 124
129 145 *147.12* 147.12

M1505:

5 7.2 7.12 17 20 30 *47* 58 64 77 80 87 89 94.1 94.3 104 107 113B11 *116.1* 124
129 *145 147.12 147.12 147.14*

The Alleluia verse 101.2, as mentioned above, is reintroduced in the 1551 and
1553 printed editions of the Hospitaller Missal, for which was used as exemplar a
manuscript from Rhodes, which, ultimately descended from **Vat659**.

M1551 and M1553:

5 7.2 7.12 17 20 30 *47* 58 64 77 80 87 89 94.1 94.3 *101.2* 104 107 *116.1* 116.1
124 129 146.3 *146.3 147.14*

Among the Hospitaller sources **BN1689** is certainly an exception in so far as it
presents substantial variation from the Holy Sepulchre series :

5 7.2 7.12 17 20 *104 113* 58 64 30 77 80 87 89 94 107 *110* 113B11 *129 121*
116.1 145 129

BN1689 is a missal written for an Hospitaller community of the area of Autun,
but which has retained a calendar of Autun. Its post-Pentecost Alleluia verses,
while showing strong dissimilarities to the Holy Sepulchre, are definitely not
those of Autun, as it can be ascertained by a comparison with the series from
Autun:

7.2 7.12 17 20 46 64 30 77 80 87 89 92 94.1 94.3 96 99 104 107 110 112
113B11 116.1 117

The Teutonic series, as given by **Teutonic9**, p_i^r, is:

7.2 7.12 17 20 30 58 64 77 *78* 80 87 89 94.1 94.3 *101.16* 104 107 113B11 *117* 124 129 146.3 147.14 *147.12 116.1*

4.5 (Sanctoral) Series of responsories and versicles found at Matins of the office of All Saints day (1 Nov.)

The office for All Saints is found in the *pars aestivalis* of breviaries, antiphonaries, and ordinals. This office is missing in **Chant1076**, and, among the Hospitaller sources, in **LondOSJ** and **DarmI/18**; nor it appears in **Mun10111** and **Haarl184C4**, because these two manuscripts contain the *pars hiemalis* only. For the analysis of the office of All Saints day I have made use of the numerical system compiled by P. M. Gy, still unpublished. The text of the responsories will be therefore given in full.

Vat659 is the earliest exemplar from the Holy Sepulchre to contain this office:

Invitatorium: Regem regum dominum venite adoremus.

1. R. Benedicat nos	[059]	V. Deus misereatur nostri
2. R. Felix namque	[011]	V. Ora pro populo
3. R. Te sanctum	[044]	V. Cherubin
4. R. Inter natos	[013]	V. Fuit homo missus
5. R. Qui sunt isti	[061]	V. Candidiores nive
6. R. O constantia	[064]	V. Nobis ergo petimus
7. R. Sint lumbi	[015]	V. Vigilate ergo
8. R. Audivi vicem	[002]	V. Media nocte clamor
9. R. Concede nobis	[033]	V. Adiuvent nos eorum merita
		V. Exaltabunt sancti

The same series can be found in **Barletta**; **BN10478** (Versicles 1, 6, 9 only); **Wand** (Versicles1-4, 9 only); **Parma** (Position 9: V. *Exaltabunt sancti in gloria*); **Lucca** (Position 7: V. *Candidiores*). **Lucca** presents in position 8 also R.

O quam gloriosum est celestium [22] V. *Illic per illorum interven.*, to be found in position 9 in the Chartres series.

The Hospitaller sources follow the use of the Holy Sepulchre with no or very little variantion: **Maz355**; **Mars109** (No versicles. Position 9: R. *Exultabunt sancti*, corrected to *Concede nobis* by another hand); **Cam6652** (No versicles in position 4, 5, and 8); **Frei56** (Position 9: V. *Exultabunt sancti in gloria*); **Haarl184C5** (No versicle in position 1); **Monreale**; **B1480** and **B1495** (Versicles 1, 6, 9 only. Position 9: V. *Exaltabunt sancti in gloria*); **B1517**; **B1551**.

According to the list of responsories for All Saints day prepared by Dom Beyssac and by Father Gy the Holy Sepulchre series is identical to those of **Sées1-3** and **York1-2-4**, the only minor variant being in position 2, where in the series from Sées and York is found V. *Ora pro clero*.

The Holy Sepulchre series differs from a number of other uses only in one responsory. From **Évreux3** in the second responsory (R. *Sancta Maria clemens* V. *Ut tuo nos interventu*); from **Hereford1** in the first responsory (R. *Summae trinitati* [43]; V. *Prestet nobis*); from **Paris1** in the fifth responsory (R. *Cives apostolorum* [20]). It differs from **Rouen1-3-4-5-10** in the first responsory (R. *Summae trinitati* [43]) and the fourth (R. *In circuitu tuo* [87]); finally it differs from **Sarum4** in the first responsory (R. *Summae trinitati* [43]) and the fifth (R. *Cives apostolorum* [20]):

Holy Sepulchre:	59 11 44 13 61 64 15 02 33
Sées:	59 11 44 13 61 64 15 02 33
York:	59 11 44 13 61 64 15 02 33
Évreux:	59 [?] 44 13 61 64 15 02 33
Hereford:	*43* 11 44 13 61 64 15 02 33
Paris:	59 11 44 13 *20* 64 15 02 33
Rouen:	*43* 11 44 *87* 61 64 15 02 33

Sarum: *43* 11 44 13 *20* 64 15 02 33

Whether the office for All Saints was introduced to the Holy Sepulchre directly from books from Sées or York, and if so, which from; or it was a variation, introduced in Jerusalem, on the use of Évreux, Paris, or an English one, it is difficult to say, until further studies are conducted on the nature of the relationship among these liturgical uses.

Certainly any influence from Bayeux and Chartres, whose series present instead more substantial differences, can be excluded; see **Bayeux6** (pp. 256-7) and **Lisieux**, with the same series as Bayeux:

57 11 44 *21* 13 61 64 15 02

Chartres9 (Delaporte 185):

1. R. Benedictus dominus deus Israel [059?]

2. R. Felix namque [011]

3. R. Te sanctum [044]

4. R. Inter natos [013]

5. R. Qui sunt isti [061]

6. R. Isti sunt qui pro testamento *[036]*

7. R. Sint lumbi [015]

8. R. Simile est regnum *[058]*

9. R. O quam gloriosum *[022]*

Within the Chartres series, a variant can be found in position 2 and 6 in **Chartres3-4-5-6-7-10**:

1. R. Benedictus dominus deus Israel [059?]

2. R. Stirps Iesse *[???]*

3. R. Te sanctum [044]

4. R. Inter natos [013]

5. R. Qui sunt isti [061]

6. R. Isti sunt sancti qui vicerunt/sequuntur *[???]*

7. R. Sint lumbi [015]

8. R. Simile est regnum *[058]*

9. R. O quam gloriosum   *[022]*

Chartres6 has in position 6 the R. Isti sunt sancti qui sequuntur.

Teutonic6, CC_6^r, presents the following series:

Invitatorium: Regem regum dominum venite adoremus.

1. R. Summa trinitatis	*[043]*	V. Prestet nobis
2. R. Felix namque	[011]	V. Ora pro populo
3. R. Te sanctum	[044]	V. Cherubin quoque
4. R. Inter natos	[013]	V. Fuit homo
5. R. Cives apostolorum	*[020]*	V. Audite preces
6. R. Isti sunt sancti	*[006]*	V. Tradiderunt
7. R. Sint lumbi	[015]	V. Vigilate
8. R. Audivi vocem	[002]	V. Media nocte
9. R. Laudem dicite Deo	*[067]*	V. Genus electum
		V. Orate pro nobis?

4.6 (Sanctoral) Series of responsories and versicles found in the Office of the Dead (2 Nov.)

The office for All Souls (office of the dead) is found in the *pars aestivalis* of breviaries, antiphonaries, ordinals, psalters, and books of hours. This office is lost in **Chant1076**, which ends imperfectly.

In square brackets there is reference to the numerical organisation of responsories and versicles found in Ottosen 389-420.

The office of the Holy Sepulchre presents two series which differ from each other in one responsory only: the first series is represented by **BL1139** (1131-43), the earliest exemplar from the Holy Sepulchre to contain this office. The second series is found in **Vat659**.

The series from **BL1139** is the following:

1. R. Credo quod redemptor	[014]	V. Quem visurus sum	[177]
2. R. Qui Lazarum	[072]	V. Qui venturus es	[188]
3. R. Domine, quando veneris	[024]	V. Commissa mea	[034]
4. R. Heu mihi	[032]	V. Anima mea turbata	[012]
5. R. Ne recorderis	[057]	V. Dirige domine	[059]
6. R. Domine, secundum actum	[028]	V. Amplius lava me	[008]
7. R. Peccantem me	[068]	V. Deus in nomine	[053]
8. R. Libera me, domine, de viis	[040]	V. Clamantes et	[031]
9. R. Libera me, domine, de morte	[038]	V. Dies illa dies ire	[055]
		V. Tremens factus	[227]
		V. Plangent sese super	[178]
		V. Creator omnium	[038]

This series is also found in **Wand** (Position 9: V [055] V. *Requiem eternam* [198]) and **Parma** (Position 9: only V. [055]).

Among the Hospitaller sources, same series in **Maz355**; **Mars109**; **Mun10111**; **Cam6652**; **DarmI/18**; **and OxfSJC131** (Position 9: only V [055]); **Colm446** and **Freib56** (Position 9: V. *Dies illa* [055] V. *Audivi vocem*); **Vall455** (Position 9: V. [055] V. [227] V. *Vix Iustus* [243] V. *Vox de celis* [245]); **B1480** and **B1495** (Position 9: V. [055] V. [227] V. *Plangent sese super* [178] V. *Creator omnium rerum* [038]); **BL41061, B1517,** and **B1551** (Position 9: V. *Dies illa* [055] V. *Requiem eternam* [198]).

BL1139, from the Holy Sepulchre, is the oldest source among this group. According to Ottosen, of the other 19 exemplars presenting this series, 5 are from Hospitaller sources[6] and therefore a derivation from the Holy Sepulchre

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[6] Ottosen includes two further manuscripts which have not been included for different reasons: 1) the book of hours Marseilles, BM, ms. 111, which actually presents the use of Thérouanne as far as the office of the dead is concerned and

(Maz355, Wand, Mars109, B1495, B1551), 4 Brigittine (Uppsala, UB, C 489; Oxford, Bodl. Lib., Buchanan F. 2; Paris, B. de l'Arsenal, 424; Paris, BN, Rés B. 1875), 2 from Bayeux (Paris, B. Ste Geneviève, 2712; Paris, B. Mazarine, ms 486), 2 from Blaubeuren (Stuttgart, WLB, cod. brev. 118; Stuttgart, WLB, HB I 222), 2 from Zwiefalten (Stuttgart, WLB, cod. brev. 117; Stuttgart, WLB, cod. brev. 116), one from Remiremont (Paris, BN, n.a.l. 1508), one from a book of hours for private use c. 1320 ('Marguerite's Hours', London, BL, Add. 36684).

The adoption of the Hospitaller office of the dead by the Brigittine sources has been attributed, by Tore Nyberg and Ottosen, to Peter Magister, the compiler of the Brigittine Breviary[7]. The other local sources in this group, a part from Bayeux which will receive further consideration, basically present local calendars but Hospitaller offices of the dead. Given the late date of production, they date from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century, they shed no light to the origin of the office of the dead of the Holy Sepulchre, therefore they will not be here investigated any further.

Vat659 presents a variant series, consisting in the adoption, in position 8, of R. *Requiem eternam* [82] V. *Qui Lazarum* [185], instead of R. [40] and V. [31]:

1. R. Credo quod redemptor	[014]	V. Quem uisurus	[177]
2. R. Qui Lazarum	[072]	V. Qui uenturus est	[188]
3. R. Domine quando	[024]	V. Commissa mea	[034]
4. R. Heu mihi	[032]	V. Anima mea	[012]
5. R. Ne recorderis	[057]	V. Dirige domine	[059]
6. R. Domine secundum actum	[028]	V. Amplius	[008]
7. R. Peccantem me	[068]	V. Deus in nomine	[053]
8. R. Requiem eternam	*[082]*	V. Qui Lazarum	*[185]*
9. R. Libera me...de morte	[038]	V. Dies illa	[055]
		V. Tremens	[227]

that of Rome as far as the short office of the Virgin. 2) Utrecht 52, which I was unable to locate.

This series is also found in **BN10478, BN1400, BL1611** (Position 9: V. *Dies illa* [055] V. *Quid ergo miserimus* [180] V. *Nunc Christe petimus* [403] V. *Creator omnium* [038] V. *Requiscant in pace* [265]); and **Fitz246** (Position 2: no versicle. Position 9: V. [055] only).

The variant series ending 68 82 38 has in Ottosen 132 cases. Its major representatives are found within the use of Sarum (23), Metz (12), Rouen (12), the Carmelite Order (10), Coutances (9), Lisieux (8), Rennes (8), Sées (4), Hereford (2), Bayeux (3), and Lincoln (1). To the rather late exemplars which appear in Ottosen we can add **Vat659**, from the second half of the 12th century. Apart from the Carmelites, who adopted this office from the Holy Sepulchre, and Metz, whose relationship to the Rouen series has to be investigated, this series revolves around the archdiocese of Rouen.

However, both variants found in the manuscripts which present the use of the Holy Sepulchre, the one with R. [040] in position 8 found in **BL1139**, and that with R. [082] found in **Vat659**, can be found together as alternating responsories in the early Bayeux series, represented by a thirteenth-century breviary (**Bayeux1**), a thirteenth-century ordinal (**Bayeux6**), and a fifteenth-century ordinal (**Bayeux7**):

14 72 24	32 57 *12*	68 40 38
	28	82

R. 12 *Congregati sunt* is, according to Ottosen, very likely to be a 13th century insertion, at the time when the Ordinal of Bayeux was composed, as a tribute to the French Crown after the incorporation of Normandy into France in 1204 by Philip II (1180-1223).

It is therefore most likely that the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre, as far as the office of the dead is concerned, adopted the use of Bayeux in its earlier version, where the two variants can be found. Its introduction within the use of the Holy Sepulchre should be related, I believe, to the patriarch Arnulf of Cocques.

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[7] See Ottosen 238.

Presumably, like the other Norman towns Coutances, Lisieux, Sées, and Rennes, also Bayeux ultimately adopted the office of the dead of its archbishopric, Rouen. But only Bayeux presents the alternating responsories 40/82 in position 8. Some series from Rouen present also R. 40, but in position 9 (**Rouen6**) or in position 6 (**Rouen7-8**). Therefore it is safe to say that the office of the dead of the Holy Sepulchre adopted the `Norman' series as filtered by the Bayeux tradition.

Lucca has a completely different series, a derivation from Chartres[8]:

1. R. Credo, quod	[014]	V. Quem visurus	[177]
2. R. Qui Lazarum	[072]	V. Qui suscitasti puellam	[187]
3. R. Heu mihi	[032]	V. Anima mea turbata est	[012]
4. R. Domine, quando veneris	[024]	V. Commissa mea	[034]
5. R. Ne recorderis	[057]	V. Dirige domine	[059]
6. R. Peccante me	[068]	V. Deus in nomine tuo	[053]
7. R. Domine, secundum actum	*[028]*	V. Amplius	[008]
8. R. Libera me, domine, de viis	[040]	V. Clamantes et dicentes	[031]
9. R. Libera me, domine, de morte	[038]	V. Dies illa	[055]
		V. Tremens	[227]
		V. Quid ego miserrimus	[180]
		V. Vix iustus salvabitur	[243]
		V. Creator omnium rerum	[038]

Chartres9 series is: [14][72][32] [24][57][68] [76][40][38]. In **Lucca** R. [28] in position 7 has replaced R. *Quomodo confitebor* [76] of the original Chartres series; see Ottosen 302.

According to Ottosen, the office of the dead of Chartres was probably compiled in the 11th century and was adopted by the canons of St Jean-en-Vallée[9], who

[8] Lucca has also an alternating Roman series of responsories, added in the margins in a later hand: R. Credo quod [14] R. Qui Lazarum [72] R. Domine, quando veneris [24] R. Memento mei, deus, quia ventus [46] R. Heu mihi [32] R. Ne recorderis [57] R. Peccante me [68] R. Domine, secundum actum [28] R. Libera me, domine, de viis [40].

also owned, in Chartres, the church of St Stephen close to the cathedral, to conform to the cathedral's office.

The use of **York**, which, as we have seen, is identical to that of the Holy Sepulchre as far as the office for All Saints is concerned, is different in this office, a derivation from Rouen, either from Rouen itself or via St Stephen's, Caen or St Wandrille; see Ottosen 120 and 251:

1. R. Credo quod redemptor	[014]	V. Quem uisurus	[177]
2. R. Qui Lazarum	[072]	V. Requiem eternam	*[198]*
3. R. Domine quando	[024]	V. Commissa mea	[034]
4. R. Heu mihi	[032]	V. Anima mea	[012]
5. R. Ne recorderis	[057]	V. Dirige domine	[059]
6. R. Libera me domine de vis inferni	*[040]*	V. Clamantes	*[031]*
R. Congregati sunt	*[012]*	V. Ne littera iuventuti	*[???]*
7. R. Peccantem	*[068]*	V. Deus in nomine	*[053]*
8. R. Deus eterne	*[018]*	V. Qui in cruce positus	*[184]*
R. Absolve domine animas eorum	*[001]*	V. Etque illis sunt	*[324]*
9. R. Libera me...de morte	[038]	V. Dies illa	[055]

Rouen presents two series, the one that we have encountered above and the following one, from **Rouen1**:

14 72 24 32 57 40 68 82 38

Évreux3 also has a very different series, a derivation from an Aquitaine series, whose earliest exemplar is a 10th century pontifical said to be from the Benedictine abbey of Aurillac (Albi, BM, ms. 20); see Ottosen 163 and 312-14:

1. R. Credo quod redemptor	[014]	V. Quem uisurus	[177]
2. R. Qui Lazarum	[072]	V. Requiem eternam	[198]
3. R. Peccantem me	[068]	V. Deus in nomine	[053]
4. R. Heu mihi	[032]	V. Anima mea	[012]
5. R. Ne recorderis	[057]	V. Dirige domine	[059]

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9 Cottineau I 714-5; *DHGE* XII 560.

6. R. Domine secundum actum	[028]	V. Amplius	[008]
7. R. Memento mei	[046]	V. Et non revertetur	[091]
8. R. Requiem eternam	*[082]*	V. Qui Lazarum	*[185]*
9. R. Libera me...de morte	[038]	V. Dies illa	[055]

The Teutonic use presents two traditions. The first and earliest is an adoption of the Dominican liturgy (Ottosen 109 and 242), as can be seen in **Teutonic5-8**:

1. R. Credo quod redemptor [014]

2. R. Qui Lazarum [072]

3. R. Domine, quando veneris [024]

4. R. Heu mihi [032]

5. R. Ne recorderis [057]

6. R. Peccantem me [068]

7. R. Memento mei [046]

9. R. Libera me...de morte [038]

The second, later, tradition developed in Germany in the fifteenth century (Ottosen 196 and 356-8), and it can be found in **Teutonic6, CC$_8$^{v}**:

1. R. Redemptor meus	[079]	V. Lauda anima mea	[125]
2. R. Rogamus te	[083]	V. Misericors et miserator	[147]
3. R. Ne tradas	[058]	V. Memorare	[138]
4. R. Quomodo confitebor	[076]	V. Tibi soli peccavi	[222]
5. R. Memento queso	[047]	V. Vitam et misericordiam	[242]
6. R. Deus eterne in cuius	[018]	V. Qui in cruce positus	[184]
7. R. Absolve domine	[001]	V. Si que illi sunt	[216]
8. R. Cognoscimus domine	[010]	V. Vita nostra in dolore	[240]
9. R. Libera me...de morte	[038]	V. Dies illa	[055]
		V. Tremens	[227]
		V. Quid ego miserrimus	[180]
		V. Nunc Christe	[403]
		V. Creator omnium	[038]

4.7 Series of responsories and versicles found in the Office for the Dedication of a Church

The office for the dedication of the church is found in breviaries, antiphonaries, and ordinals. For the analysis of this office I have made use of Beyssac's numerical system, notwithstanding any other published analytical work on this office. For this reason, I will not provide his numerical reference, but will give the text of responsories and versicles in full.

Vat659 is the earliest exemplar from the Holy Sepulchre to contain this office:

Invitatorium: Filie Syon currite

1. R. In dedicatione templi	V. Obtulerunt
2. R. Fundata est domus domini	V. Venientes autem
3. R. Domus mea domus orationis	V. Domum tuam domine
4. R. Benedic domine domum istam	V. Si peccaverit populus
5. R. Lapides preciosi	V. Hec est domus domini
6. R. O quam metuendus est	V. Vere dominus est in loco
7. R. Sanctificavit dominus tabernaculum	V. Domus mea domus
8. R. Vidi civitatem sanctam Iherusalem	V. Vidi angelum dei
9. R. Mane surgens Iacob	V. Cumque mane evigilasset
R. Terribilis est locus iste	V. Cumque evigilasset Iacob

The same series can be found in **BN10478** (Position 1: V. *In hymnis et confessionibus*. Position 9: V. *Cumque evigilasset Iacob*). **Lucca** presents the responsory and versicle of position 6 at the end (therefore position 6: R. *Sanctificauit* V. *Domus mea*. Position 7: R. *Vidi ciuitatem* V. *Vidi angelum*.

Position 8: R. *Mane surgens Iacob* V. *Cunque mane surrexisset Iacob* (a variant).

Position 9: R. *O quam metuendus* V. *Vere dominus*).

Unfortunately we do not have data for this office from the breviaries of the Holy Sepulchre produced in Cyprus, as **Wand** and **Chant1076** are fragmentary and **Parma** does not seem to contain it.

The use of the Holy Sepulchre for the dedication of the church clearly derives from Chartres; in fact it is possible to notice a perfect correspondence with **Chartres3-9**, where the only difference can be found in the use of the Invitatorium *Domus mea domus orationis* in the Chartres tradition:

Invitatorium: Domus mea domus orationis

1. R. In dedicatione templi	V. Obtulerunt
2. R. Fundata est domus domini	V. Venientes autem
3. R. Domus mea domus orationis	V. Domum tuam domine
4. R. Benedic domine domum istam	V. Si peccaverit populus
5. R. Lapides preciosi	V. Hec est domus domini
6. R. O quam metuendus est	V. Vere dominus est in loco
7. R. Sanctificavit dominus tabernaculum	V. Domus mea domus
8. R. Vidi civitatem sanctam Iherusalem	V. Vidi angelum dei
9. R. Mane surgens Iacob	V. Cumque mane evigilasset

Chartres10 (destroyed in 1944 according to Delaporte 10) presents a single variant in the versicle of position 9: V. *Cumque evigilasset Iacob.*

All Hospitaller sources present one variant, which consists in the absence of R. *Vidi civitatem sancta Iherusalem* V. *Vidi angelum dei*, in position 8 in the office of the Holy Sepulchre, and in the consequent adoption of the responsories and versicles of position 9, which presents an alternating responsory, as position 8 and 9. Probably this variant derives from an exemplar of the Holy Sepulchre now lost:

Cam6652 (Position 1: V. *Ornaverunt faciem templi*. Position 8: R. *Mane surgens Iacob* V. *Cumque mane surrexisset Iacob*. Position 9: R. *Terribilis est* V. *Vidit Iacob scalam* V. *Hec est domus domini* V. *Firmiter ed.*); **Haarl184C5, LondOSJ, Freib56, B1480** and **B1495** (Position 8: R. *Mane surgens Iacob* V. *Cumque mane surrexisset Iacob*. Position 9: R. *Terribilis est* V. *Cumque evigilasset Iacob*); **B1517** and **B1551** (Position 8: R. *Mane surgens Iacob* V. *Cumque evigilasset*. Position 9: R. *Terribilis est* V. *Cumque evigilasset Iacob*).

It should be noted, finally, that **Carmelite5** (Zimmerman p. 61), presents many variants from the series of the Holy Sepulchre:

Invitatorium: Exultemus

1. R. In dedicatione templi	V. Obtulerunt
2. R. Fundata est	V. Veniens autem
3. R. Mane surgens Iacob	*V. Vidit Iacob scalam*
4. R. Benedic domine	*V. Beati qui habitant/Domine si conversus*
5. R. O quam metuendus est	*V. Mane surgens*
6. R. Orantibus in loco	*V. Domine exaudi orationem*
7. R. Lapides preciosi	*V. Hec est domus domini*
8. R. Domus mea domus	*V. Domum tuam domine*
9. R. Terribilis est	V. Cumque evigilasset Iacob

This Carmelite series is much closer to **Sarum1**. The only variant can be found in the presence of R. *Beati qui habitant* V. *Domine exaudi orationem* in position 6 of the Sarum series, with the subsequent moving down of place of the following responsories and versicles and the disappearance of R. *Terribilis est* with its versicle:

1. R. In dedicatione templi	V. Obtulerunt
2. R. Fundata est	V. Veniens autem
3. R. Mane surgens Iacob	V. Vidit Iacob scalam

4. R. Benedic domine	V. Beati qui habitant/Domine si conversus
5. R. O quam metuendus est	V. Mane surgens
6. R. Beati qui habitant	V. Domine exaudi orationem
7. R. Orantibus in loco	V. Domine exaudi orationem
8. R. Lapides preciosi	V. Hec est domus domini
9. R. Domus mea domus	V. Domum tuam domine

The Bayeux series is completely different; as can be seen from **Bayeux6** (p. 268):

Invitatorium: Domus mea domus orationis

1. R. In dedicatione templi

2. R. Fundamenta eius

3. R. Benedic domine domum istam et os

4. R. Sanctificavit dominus tabernaculum

5. R. Domus mea domus orationis

6. R. Mane surgens Iacob

7. R. Vidi civitatem sanctam Iherusalem

8. R. Lapides preciosi

9. R. O quam metuendus est

York4 also is completely different:

Invitatorium: Filie Syon currite

1. R. In dedicatione templi	V. In hymnis et confess.
2. R. Fundata est domus domini	V. Venientes autem
3. R. Benedic domine domum	V. Domine si conuersus
4. R. Beati qui habitant	V. Non priuabis
5. R. Lapides preciosi	V. Vidi civitatem sanctam
6. R. Vidi civitatem Ierusalem	V. Vidi angelum dei
7. R. Domus mea	V. Petite et
8. R. Mane surgens	V. Pavensque ipse dicit

9. R. Terribilis est   V. Vos estis templum

Rouen10:

1. R. In dedicatione templi	V. Obtulerunt
2. R. Fundata est domus domini	V. Venientes autem
3. R. Domus mea	V. Domum tuam
4. R. Benedic domine domum	V. Domine si conuersus
5. R. Lapides preciosi	V. Hec est domus
6. R. Mane surgens	V. Vidit Iacob
7. R. O quam metuendus est	V. Mane surgens vere
8. R. Beati qui habitant	V. Non priuabis
9. R. Terribilis est	V. Cunque evigilasset

Teutonic6, M_6^v:

Invitatorium: Templum hoc sanctum

1. R. In dedicatione templi	V. Obtulerunt
2. R. Fundata est	V. Venientes autem
3. R. Visita qs. domine habitationem	V. Benedic domine domum istam
4. R. Benedic domine...quam	V. Domine si conversus fuerit
5. R. Mane surgens Iacob erigebat	V. Vidit Iacob scalam
6. R. Terribilis est	V. Cumque evigilasset Iacob
7. R. Lapides preciosi	V. Hec est domus domini
8. R. Domus mea	V. Domum tuam domine
9. R. Benedic domine...et omnes	V. Conserva domine in ea timentes
	V. Domine dilexi decorem

4.8 Officium quotidianum de Beata Maria Virgine

The *officium quotidianum de BMV* developed slowly, from the tenth to the twelfth century, and in different places, to be recited either in community celebration or as an individual pious devotion[10]. In the last centuries of the middle ages it became a general practice and even an obligation of the clergy until the 1568 *Breviarium Romanum*[11].

The evolution of the *officium de BMV* coincides with that of the book where it can generally be found, the book of hours, which, from the thirteenth century onwards became independent from the psalter and to a large extent replaced it as the basic book of Christian piety.

The *cursus* of the office evolved from its short form with three lessons to become a full office containing all hours, and for each of them, all the *formulae* of an integral office[12]. During the formation period a group of *formulae* imposed themselves as the traditional repertoire which would be arranged differently and freely to express piety towards the mother of God[13].

The various forms of the *officium de BMV* in England have been studied from the late nineteenth century, and an index including also some continental forms was published by Falconer Madan. His work was enlarged by two French scholars, Victor Leroquais († 1946) and Gabriel Beyssac († 1965). At present, Father Pierre Marie Gy is computerizing a synthesis of the work of the three scholars.

The system developed by these scholars consists in the utilisation of a method which records the variants which occurr within the *officium de BMV*, in so doing identifying the peculiarities typical of each liturgical use and consequently allowing a comparison of different uses.

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[10] J. Leclercq, 'Fragmenta mariana', *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, 72 (1958), 292-301, at 294-5.

[11] P. M. Gy, 'The Medieval Officium Quotidianum de Beata Maria Virgine and its Organisation in the various local Liturgies' a paper delivered in August 1997 to the Societas Liturgica, Turku (Finland), unpublished.

[12] J. Leclercq, 'Formes anciennes de l'Office marial', *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, 74 (1960), 89-102, at 89 n. 74.

[13] J. Leclercq, 'Formes anciennes', 102.

The method adopted by Madan and Beyssac consists in the registration of (1) the antiphon of Prime; (2) the capitulum of Prime; (3) the antiphon of None; (4) the capitulum of None. Madan's lists can be found in 'Documents and Records. A. Hours of the Virgin Mary (Tests for Localization)', *Bodleian Quarterly Record*, 2nd quarter III/26 (1920), 40-44, reprinted with few additions in *Essays in History Presented to Reginald Lane Poole*, ed. H. W. C. Davis (Oxford, 1927), 21-9. Beyssac's material is still unpublished.

Leroquais expanded this method to include more clues for identification. His work, which classifies around 250 documents, includes 10 elements of identification: (1) 1st antiphon of Matins; (2) 1st lesson of Matins; (3) 1st antiphon of Lauds; (4) capitulum of Lauds; (5) hymn of Lauds; (6) antiphon *ad Benedictus* of Lauds; (7) antiphon of Prime; (8) capitulum of Prime; (9) antiphon of None; (10) capitulum of None.

Leroquais's note books, unpublished, are in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (nouv. acq. lat. 3162).

As far as the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre is concerned, the situation is slightly unusual. None of the early sources presents the *officium de BMV*; the earliest manuscript of the Holy Sepulchre which could potentially have contained it, the psalter **BL1139**, does not; nor do the breviaries, and we do not have books of hours from the Holy Sepulchre. This is not surprising if we consider that the first books brought to Jerusalem dated, basically, to the end of the eleventh century, when the *officium de BMV* was still slowly developing into an independent form of prayer.

However, the orders of the Hospitallers and Carmelites, both of which adopted the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre, share the same *officium de BMV*, thus suggesting a common source. None of the uses shown above to have influenced the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre (Bayeux, Évreux, Chartres) present similar series: from the method of identification developed by Madan and Beyssac, the Hospitaller and Carmelite office appears to be a variant of the use of Toul. Until further studies are conducted on the data collected on the *officium de BMV*, so that a geography of the spread of this office is established (on the basis of the

work done by Ottosen on the office of the dead), our inferences can only be taken as provisional.

It seems to me, however, that Hospitallers and Carmelites would only have shared the same office if it came from a common and authoritative source, that is at a time when their liturgical use was still directly influenced by that of the Holy Sepulchre. While it would have been quite unlikely, chronologically and historically, to register the use of the *officium de BMV* in twelfth century Jerusalem, it is more likely that this office was introduced into the use of the Holy Sepulchre in thirteenth century Acre, and particularly in the second half of the century, when cultural and artistic interchange with Europe, France in particular, were, as we have seen, more frequent. We should remember that Jacques Pantaleon, patriarch of Jerusalem between 1255 and 1261, had been since 1252 bishop of Verdun, and that **BN10478**, the breviary used by the Templars of Acre, contains a calendar of Metz later adapted to the use of the Holy Sepulchre. Toul, Verdun, and Metz are neighbouring towns and it could be, I believe, plausible that liturgical material from either of these places found its way to Acre with Jacques Pantaleon and his entourage.

According to the Madan - Beyssac method, the **Hospitaller** and **Carmelite** series is the following:

Prime. Antiphona	1) Assumpta est
Capitulum	2) Ab initio
None. Antiphona	3) Pulchra es
Capitulum	4) Sicut cynamomum

The **Toul** series is:

Prime. Antiphona	1) Assumpta est
Capitulum	2) Ab initio
None. Antiphona	3) Pulchra es
Capitulum	4) Quasi cedrus

Where the only difference can be found in the capitulum at None (position 4):
Sicut cynamomum in the Hospitallers series, *Quasi cedrus* in Toul.

Among the Hospitallers sources, only the 1547 edition of the breviary made for the Hospitaller sisters of Sigena, **B1547**, presents exactly the use of Toul, with no variation.

The Hospitallers, however, also developed a variant series, where the capitulum at None (position 4) *Sicut cynamomum* is replaced with *In plateis*, which can be found in the Roman use (*Assumpta est - Que est ista - Pulchra es - In plateis*). The new variant series being as follows:

Prime. Antiphona   1) Assumpta est

        Capitulum   2) Ab initio

None.   Antiphona   3) Pulchra es

        Capitulum   4) In plateis (Roman influence)

This variant series can be found in **BN1400**, **BL41061**, **OxfSJC131**, and **Fitz246**.

As far as the early printed books are concerned, while **B1480** and **B1495** present the original Holy Sepulchre series, **B1517** and **B1551** present the new one.

This suggests that the original series was the one exported to the Hospitaller daughter-houses in Europe from thirteenth century Acre, while the variant series was developed within the Hospitaller environment at a later stage. The mandate for publication printed on ++ᵢᵢᵢᵛ of the 1517 edition of the Hospitaller Breviary states that it used as exemplar a manuscript from Rhodes which was considered to be a better representative of the original liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre. Therefore the variant to the Hospitaller *officium de BMV* which presents the Roman influence was probably introduced in Rhodes. This inference is also confirmed by the presence of the variant series in **BL41061** and **OxfSJC131**, two books of hours probably written in Rhodes.

Chartres: O admirabile - Qui gloriatur - Ecce Maria - Per te Dei

Rouen: Maria virgo - Per te Dei - Pulchra es - Et radicavi

Sarum: O admirabile - In omnibus - Germinavit - Et radicavi

Évreux: O admirabile - Sancta et immaculata - Germinavit - Felix namque

York: Prophetae - Egredietur virga - Benedicta tu - Ave Maria

Sées: O admirabile - Ab initio - Germinavit - Et radicavi

Bayeux: Beata mater - Ab initio - In prole - Paradisi porta

Rome: Assumpta est - Quae est - Pulchra es - In plateis

Metz: Sub tuum presidium - Hec est virgo sanata - Beata mater - Per te dei genitrix

Verdun: Quanto natus es - Ab initio - Ecce Maria genuit nobis - Paradisi porta

The Teutonic series, as given by **Teutonic6, ff₁ʳ**, is the following:

Prime.	Antiphona	1) Dignare me
	Capitulum	2) Regi seculorum
None.	Antiphona	3) Beata mater
	Capitulum	4) Quasi cedrus

This use corresponds, with a variant, to the Dominican one. The variant is found in the capitulum at Prime (position 2), which in the Dominican use is *Ab initio*, while in the Teutonic use is *Regi seculorum*.

To conclude, it can safely be said that the *officium de BMV* associated with the use of the Holy Sepulchre was not created at the same time as the rest of the Office of the Holy Sepulchre, but that it was a later addition. It was introduced to Acre in the second half of the thirteenth century, probably from Toul or from a source common to Toul and the Holy Sepulchre, which further studies into the geography of the *officium de BMV* will eventually help to identify.

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